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ABSTRACT

Spurred in part by the apparent contradiction between recent data on the magnitude of autonomous female migration and the lack of acknowledgment of that data in recent literature, a 1979 study attempted to define women migrants in 46 Third World Countries in terms of age, marital status, socioeconomic status, factors motivating migration, and effects of migration. Because data from publications, national censuses, and studies frequently did not focus on autonomous female migrants, researchers constructed a sex differential migration index. While many regional differences existed in the areas studied (Africa, Asia, Central America, the Middle East, South America), female outmigration generally dominated only among migrants over age 50. Most female migrants were adolescent, in their early twenties, or over 50. Most were single and had less education than male migrants. A growing percentage migrated, often in step-wise fashion, for economic reasons. Having migrated to urban areas, many female migrants found themselves in low-paying, low status jobs. Researchers noted increased family responsibilities for female migrants and for rural wives of male migrants, and the weakening effect of serious economic dimensions of women's migration and on autonomous female migration. (SB)

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WOMEN IN MIGRATION:

A THIRD WORLD FOCUS

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WOMEN IN MIGRATION:

A THIRD WORLD FOCUS

by

International Center for Research on Women*

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The views and interpretations in this publication are those of the author and should not be attributed to the Agency for International Development.

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The title of this report will lead many to question--justifiably--the reasons for singling out or isolating for study such a large group of people in the Third World who may have in common only the fact that they are women. What does the sex variable represent, and does it add anything to our understanding of development processes in general and migration trends in particular?

Recent evidence on the economic participation of women sheds light on the first question, for women in Third World countries are often among the poorest of the poor. Contrary to conventional statistics (and wisdom), the economic participation of these women in both the traditional and modern sectors is substantial, but it is also different from that of men, for women are generally overrepresented in those economic sectors with low productivity and meager earnings. If, in addition, they have to bear the main economic responsibility for their families, theirs are the households with the least economic resources. Women-headed households in the Third World are numerous and their numbers are growing. One of the factors contributing to the establishment and perpetuation of these households seems to be sex-specific migration; either men move in search of jobs and leave women and children behind, or women migrate autonomously and establish their own households.

This link between women-headed households in the Third World and migration was the first in a chain of factors that motivated this report.

The absence of any analysis of the existing studies of autonomous women migrants was the second. The third, and most important factor was the apparent contradiction between recent data on the magnitude of migration moves of autonomous women, on the one hand, and the lack of acknowledgment of such data in the migration literature, on the other. The fourth was our awareness of the importance of informing those engaged in formulating development programs and policy of, at the very least, the overall magnitudes and trends in Third World countries.

Trends. It is a well-known and accepted fact that women predominate in rural to urban migration in many countries in Latin America and the Caribbean. In the Dominican Republic, for instance, the new urban influx of women is almost four times as great as that of men; of the total population of Bogota, Colombia, in 1973, 51 percent of the women and 45 percent of the men had come from other parts of the country; and in Jamaica, the ratio of women to men has long been conspicuously higher in urban than in rural areas. The movement of Latin American women to metropolitan areas began in the early 1960's and it continues today. The pervasiveness of this trend led, ten years after it began, to the first studies focusing on the migration of women; while the evidence is still very incomplete, a fairly consistent socioeconomic profile of the migrant woman in the region is beginning to emerge.

Much less is known about the trend toward increasing migration of women in Asia and Africa that has taken place in the last two decades. Moves of autonomous women migrants to selected Asian cities -- Bangkok, Hong Kong, Manila, and Delhi -- intensified in the 1960's. In Thailand

between 1960 and 1972, the number of male recent migrants increased by 112 percent, while that of women increased by 142 percent. In Bangkok, in the 1960s there were more male than female migrants, but that was reversed in the 1970s. While women always predominated among migrants to Manila, their predominance increased in the 1960s. That decade also witnessed increasing "autonomous" migration of rural women to Hong Kong and to Delhi. At the national level in India, the volume of female migration exceeds that of men in rural-urban moves as well as in moves from small towns to cities. In the 1960s there also began to be a greater equalization of what had been a very unbalanced, male-dominated sex ratio in West African cities; the cause of this trend was increasing migration to urban areas of young West African women who chose to remain in the cities rather than go back to their villages to marry. In the Middle Eastern countries, the more striking event during the 1960s was the emigration of Turkish women to West Germany as part of the internationalization of labor.

The increasing magnitude of the autonomous migration of women in the Third World emphasizes the fact that an understanding of migration patterns and trends needs analysis by sex differentials. In spite of this, studies of migration continue to associate female migration with marriage. It is difficult to know whether this is a cause of or a consequence of the lack of data. The result is the prevalent assumption that the migration of women has no economic motivations or implications, a view which obscures the link between migration factors and economic conditions in developing countries. The data presented in this report

will show that there are serious economic dimensions to women's migration patterns and that women migrants -- married and autonomous -- should be studied as a category separate from male migrants and non-migrant women. When women migrants become a focus for research, then migration models will be designed that include the urban informal sector and women's role therein as a factor in the migration equation and that show the relationships among migration, the size of the urban job market, urban employment, and unemployment.

Problems of Conceptualization. One major problem facing those who want to study women migrants is the difficulty of obtaining reliable data. In many developing countries, accurate and sex-disaggregated population statistics are not available. Indeed, many countries do not collect statistics on migrancy status, so that information on migration must be derived indirectly from whatever demographic data are collected. Sex ratios, urban and rural growth rates, fertility patterns, all give us some clues to rates of migration. But they give little indication of the direction, composition, or structural factors related to migrant flows, particularly where women are concerned.

We had to deal with several other problems when we began our study of migrant women in the Third World. A major problem is that using available data it is difficult to distinguish between autonomous female migration as distinct from that of accompanying migration (wives moving with or following husbands). Where sex differences are outlined in data sources, only rarely are data on marital status variables also available. What little information there is suggests

that marital status and age are both factors in migration decisions, but that whether they are positive or negative factors depends on the stage reached in the life cycle at the time of the decision. A related problem is the inability to discriminate between those married women who migrate for economic reasons (even if they do precede, accompany or follow their husbands) and those who do not and, more generally, the inability to link the economic behavior and/or motivations of migrant women with their (de jure and de facto) marital status.

A third problem is that all "types" of migration are lumped together under one heading. It may be possible to find the total female migrant rate in a given country but not to distinguish among the particular types of movements that are involved. Migrants (men and women) can be subdivided into the following typology : seasonal agricultural migrants, short-term migrants, inter-rural migrants, inter-urban migrants, rural-urban migrants, interregional migrants, and international migrants.[1/] Except for those in the interregional and international groups it is difficult to discover how many migrants are in each of the categories. There is virtually no information on the number of seasonal women migrants, for instance, despite their apparent magnitude and it cannot be assumed that this category is captured by the internal migration statistics.

Because of these shortcomings in the data, our analysis will be concerned mostly with women migrants in urban areas. When focusing on

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1/ Much of what this report says can apply equally to men migrants. Its emphasis is, however, on the behaviors of women migrants that are different from those of men migrants and/or that respond to particular conditions affecting women but not men.

specific variables (i.e., women's age and their economic situation) we usually cannot distinguish between autonomous women migrants and those who migrate as dependents since these variables are rarely cross tabulated by marital status. In regards to women left behind as a consequence of male emigration, this analysis examines the scant data there are on the negative impact of male outmigration on rural women and on agricultural productivity. Little attention has been given to the social and economic context in which the women left behind function or to how they cope with these dislocations. The data are limited, but some suggestive trends can be drawn from them.*

Throughout the report we have attempted to answer, or at least provide partial answers to, a number of questions

-Who are the women migrants and how do they differ from male migrants in terms of age and other demographic characteristics?

-Why and under what socioeconomic conditions do women migrate? What are the factors that motivate them to move from one place to the other?

-What are the characteristics of women's socioeconomic condition in the place of destination? How do these differ from male migrants and from non-migrant women? What are the reasons for this difference?

-Who are the women left behind? What is the economic and familial context in which they function?

We have also tried to provide an idea of the magnitude of women migrants in Third World countries by developing an index of sex differences in outmigration trends for forty-six countries.

*This report does not deal with the migration trends of Third World women into the United States since this topic is currently receiving research attention from scholars (Chaney and Safa amongst others).

II. METHODOLOGY

a. Data Sources

There are obvious data related problems which make it difficult to assess the magnitude of internal and international migration for both men and women in the Third World. Unrecorded "illegal" migration and seasonal migration figure prominently among the categories for which data is lacking.

There are only two publications that attempt to quantify sex differences in migration: The Handbook of International Data on Women (Boulding et al; 1976), and Trends and Characteristics of International Migration Since 1950 (U.N. Forthcoming). Boulding's book ranks countries according to an "index of femaleness" in long-term immigration and emigration. The index -- which is expressed in terms of the ratio of women to the total number of non-residents and emigrants -- identifies countries where the immigrant/emigrant population is predominantly women and others where it is minimal. Because data are available for only a limited number of countries, the index is useful primarily for what it shows about the differences among countries in the degree of female participation in the migratory process.

The U.N. publication gives annual statistics of immigrants and emigrants classified by sex and age, and census data on the foreign-born or alien population classified by sex and age and, where available, by period of immigration.

In addition to these sources there are some national censuses which include in their published volumes tabulations comparing birthplace to current residence, and in some instances, sex differences with respect to demographic characteristics of migrant groups.

While these three sources are important in establishing the magnitude of women's participation in both internal and international migration, they are not helpful in distinguishing 'autonomous' women migrants from those who move with spouse or parents, since cross-classification by marital status of migrants is not provided (with very few exceptions). Likewise, amongst married women the extent of migration which is induced by economic reasons is obscured.

There are some regional, country, and community studies that complement the international statistics. Such studies are heavily weighted towards countries in the Latin American region, where attention has been drawn to the predominance of rural-urban female migration, particularly the concentration of women in capital-city areas (Castro et al, 1978; Connell, 1976; Elizaga, 1972; Elton, 1974; Fox and Hugert, 1977; Herold, 1978; Jelin, 1977; Kemper, 1977; Rengert, 1978; Standing, 1978d) In addition censuses in Latin American countries cover data on migrants by sex more comprehensively than those in any other region. (it is not clear whether the studies have caused governments to collect better data or the data have caused the studies.)

In Africa, attention has been almost exclusively focused on the predominance of male migrants and the points of origin and destination. The "women left behind" have received only passing mention.

The first systematic attempt at addressing this issue is, of course, the seminal work of Esther Boserup -- Woman's Role in Economic Development -- which deals with the consequences for women of male migration -- the increased work, the economic burdens and the related effects on agricultural productivity. It was the latter point, in particular, that sparkled the interest of development planners. The increase in women migrants to urban centers in Africa has not yet received widespread systematic attention, though some anthropologists have researched the situation for West Africa (Little, 1973; Sudarkasa, 1977). There have also been some studies of sex differences in rural and urban migration in Asian countries (Goldstein and Tirasawat, 1977; Pernia, 1977; Piampiti (n.d.); Sallaf, 1976; Singh, 1978a). Several have probed into the questions of which women are being affected by this process and in what ways. (Pernia, Sallaf, and Singh to cite only a few.)

Data on Turkish women migrants to West Germany have provided the basis for studies of international migration (Abadan-Unat, 1977; Kudat, 1975a; 1975b; Kudat, et al, 1976, 1979). A recent development of interest has been the export of Arab nationals from the labor-abundant Arab countries to the oil-producing countries that face labor shortages, but the impact of the move on the women left behind has not been addressed except in the case of Yemen. Given that the proportion of the exported male labor amounts to 30 per cent of the total economically active male population in that country, and that some specific villages are virtually depleted of active males, women in Yemen have been assuming in some instances, the burden of most agricultural tasks (McClelland, 1978; Ross, 1977).

Increasingly, then, Third World countries are experiencing significant movements in female migration both as a percentage of total migrants and in absolute numbers. It is unfortunate that available data and, indeed, many country and community studies do not provide indications of how many autonomous women migrants are involved in this trend. The linkage between economic conditions and female migrancy is also missing because of the lack of information on women involved in seasonal migration.

b. An Index of Sex Differences in Migration Trends

In the absence of actual figures on the number of migrants by sex, sex ratios representing the proportion of males to females residing in rural and/or urban areas are frequently used as indicators of migratory moves by sex. To identify countries in the Third World that have autonomous migrants of both sexes and give rough estimates of the magnitudes of these autonomous migration trends, we constructed a sex differential (or "femaleness") migration index composed of both an observed (or actual) and an expected sex ratio. Population figures from national censuses for forty-six Third World countries were used to calculate the index.[2/]

The observed sex ratio (v) is defined as the number of females per 100 males for all five-year age groups between the ages of 15 and 64 in rural areas. For each five-year cohort:

$$y = \frac{\text{rural females}}{\text{rural males}} \times 100$$

2/ U.N. 1977, Demographic Yearbook, 1976.

Other things being equal, we assume that when y is greater than 100 -- that is, more than 100 females per 100 males reside in rural areas -- there is male-dominated outmigration. Conversely, when y is smaller than 100 we assume female-dominated outmigration from rural areas. If y is equal to or close to 100 -- that is, the numbers of females and males in the rural area are equal -- there are three possible explanations: 1) There is no outmigration from the rural area, 2) there is family outmigration, or 3) males and females outmigrate independently but in the same numbers. We focus on rural outmigration rather than urban immigration both because rural sex ratios are less likely than urban ones to be distorted by international immigration and because the magnitude of urban to rural migration, when compared with rural to urban moves, is generally not large enough to have a major distortion effect on the rural population ratios.

The sex ratios by age groups help to identify outmigration that is selective by both sex and age and indicates when in their life cycle women and men migrate independently. Further, analysis of sex ratios by age which leaves out people between the ages 1 to 15 reduces some of the possible biases due to sex differences in fertility and mortality rates, which tend to be large in many developing countries. To further reduce biases due to age-specific sex differences in fertility and mortality rates, we introduced a second ratio into the migration index, the expected sex ratio ($\bar{y}$).

This expected ratio is defined as the expected number of females per 100 males that would result in a population where only sex differentials at birth and mortality are operating (not migration) for all 5 year age

groups between the ages of 15 and 64. Life tables by sex and age from the U.S. Bureau of the Census series on Country Demographic Profiles, which take into account morality differentials but where migration is not a factor, are used to calculate $\bar{y}$ for each five-year group where:

$$\bar{y} = \frac{f\ L\ \text{female}}{L\ \text{male}} \times 100$$

L stands for life table estimated population for a five-year age group and f is a constant included to account for the sex ratio at birth and represents the number of females per 100 males. Assuming a differential of 105 males for every 100 females; f equals 0.952.[3/]

If y-$\bar{y}$ is different from zero, that is, if the observed sex ratio is larger or smaller than the expected sex ratio, we can safely assume that these deviations from the expected value are due neither to mortality nor to the differential sex ratio at birth; we further assume that the main factor accounting for such deviations is sex differential migration. It is also assumed that biases due to sex differences in age misreporting and underenumeration are not large enough to significantly alter the observed sex ratios. Given these assumptions, we define and interpret the deviations from the expected sex ratio values as follows:

1. The male dominant migration index (MMI), indicates the extent to which men migrate more than women from rural areas and is represented when the sum of the deviations from the age-specific expected ratios

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3/ See explanatory notes at end of chapter.

is positive (i.e., more females than males, $y-\bar{y}$ is greater than 0).

2. The female dominant migration index (FMI) indicates the extent to which more women than men outmigrate from rural areas and is represented when the sum of the deviations from the age specific expected ratios is negative (i.e., more males than females, $y-\bar{y}$ is less than 0).

3. The sum of the two indices, MMI and FMI (using absolute numbers), is the total sex differential migration index (TMI), and it is an indicator of the extent of overall sex differential outmigration from rural areas within a country. (TMI = MMI + FMI)

The migration index is relative and yields information only on the extent to which more women than men (or vice versa) migrate within specific age groups. It cannot yield information on the absolute magnitude of migration for each sex. Therefore, a score of zero in the female or male migration index for any country does not necessarily mean that no women or men outmigrate either alone or with their families; rather, it merely indicates that within the specific age group women do not have a greater or lesser propensity to migrate from rural areas than men.

To compensate for this "loss" of information we have used, as complementary information, the proportion of urban to rural population by sex and age in each country. Independently for each sex, we obtained urban to rural ratios for the population in every five-year age group between the ages of 15 and 64; in addition, we obtained the urban to rural population ratio for all ages, and compared this total with the age specific urban/rural ratio. The working hypothesis for this comparison is that if there is no migration from rural areas to urban areas, the age-specific urban/rural ratios will be similar to

the total urban/rural ratio; if there is rural outmigration, however, the age-specific urban to rural ratio will tend to be larger than the total ratio. Thus, a country with a FMI close to zero might still have outmigration of women from rural areas, if the urban to rural ratio for the female population within specific age groups is signigicantly larger than the total urban to rural ratio for the female population. If the same pattern for the male population in the country is found, this suggests that the low value of the total migration index, (i.e. no sex differences in migration) is due to significant outmigration from rural areas of both men and women rather than to no outmigration.

In order to compare the age-specific urban/rural ratios between men and women and between countries (given the different levels of urbanization across countries), the age specific urban/rural ratios were standarized for each sex by dividing these ratios by the urban/rural ratio for the whole population (multiplied by 100). The age-specific urban/rural ratios presented in this report are the standardized scores. Because this standardization procedure makes difficult any interpretation of age-specific urban/rural ratios that are smaller than the total urban/rural ratio, they are not included in our analysis. In short, they should not be interpreted as an indication of urban to rural migration.

Additionally, we have assumed that the distribution of the positive urban/rural ratios for those age groups analyzed is not altered by rural/urban fertility differentials.

Explanatory Notes:

While it would have been desirable to use information for rural populations, only life table estimates for whole country populations were available.

Estimated life tables were not available for every country. In Africa tables were available for only Kenya (1969) and Ghana (1970). Except for Kenya, all the African countries listed in our index used the age-specific averages for these two countries.

For Asia, estimates were available for India (1969); Indonesia (1961-71); Korea (1966); Malaysia (1970); Nepal (1974-76); Philippines (1969-71); and Thailand (1970). For the two countries without estimates (Bangladesh and Pakistan) we used data for India which was thought to most closely approximate these countries' sex-specific mortality rates.

For Central America estimated life tables were available for Costa Rica (1972-74); Guatemala (1970-72); Honduras (1974); Mexico (1970); and Panama (1969-70). Age-specific averages of estimates for these countries were substituted for other Central American and Caribbean countries for which data were not available.

For South America estimated life table ratios were available only for Brazil (1967) and Chile (1969-70). The averages of the age-specific expected ratios were used for all other South American Countries listed in Table 1.

Estimated life tables for Middle Eastern countries were not available through the U.S. Bureau of the Census. However, data for the East Bank of Jordan (1972) was obtained from "A Study of Mortality in Jordan with Special Reference to Infant Mortality," by Dr. M. Sivamurthy and Abdul Rahim A. Ma'ayta. The expected sex ratios used for all Middle East countries were derived from these data.

Below is a summary of the computations.

$$y = \frac{{}_5F_x}{{}_5M_x} \times 100 \qquad \bar{y} = \frac{f \cdot {}_5L_x^F}{{}_5L_x^M} \times 100$$

$$MMI = y - \bar{y} > 0$$

$$FMI = y - \bar{y} < 0$$

$$TMI = [MMI + FMI]$$

$$s_{females} = \frac{\frac{{}_5F_x U}{{}_5F_x R}}{\frac{FU_t}{FR_t}} \times 100 \qquad s_{males} = \frac{\frac{{}_5M_x U}{{}_5M_x R}}{\frac{MU_t}{MR_t}} \times 100$$

Where: x = specific age group; F = female population; M = male population; U = urban; R = rural; L = life table function; s = standardized ratio; and t = total sex specific population.

III. WHERE ARE THEY?: MIGRATION PATTERNS

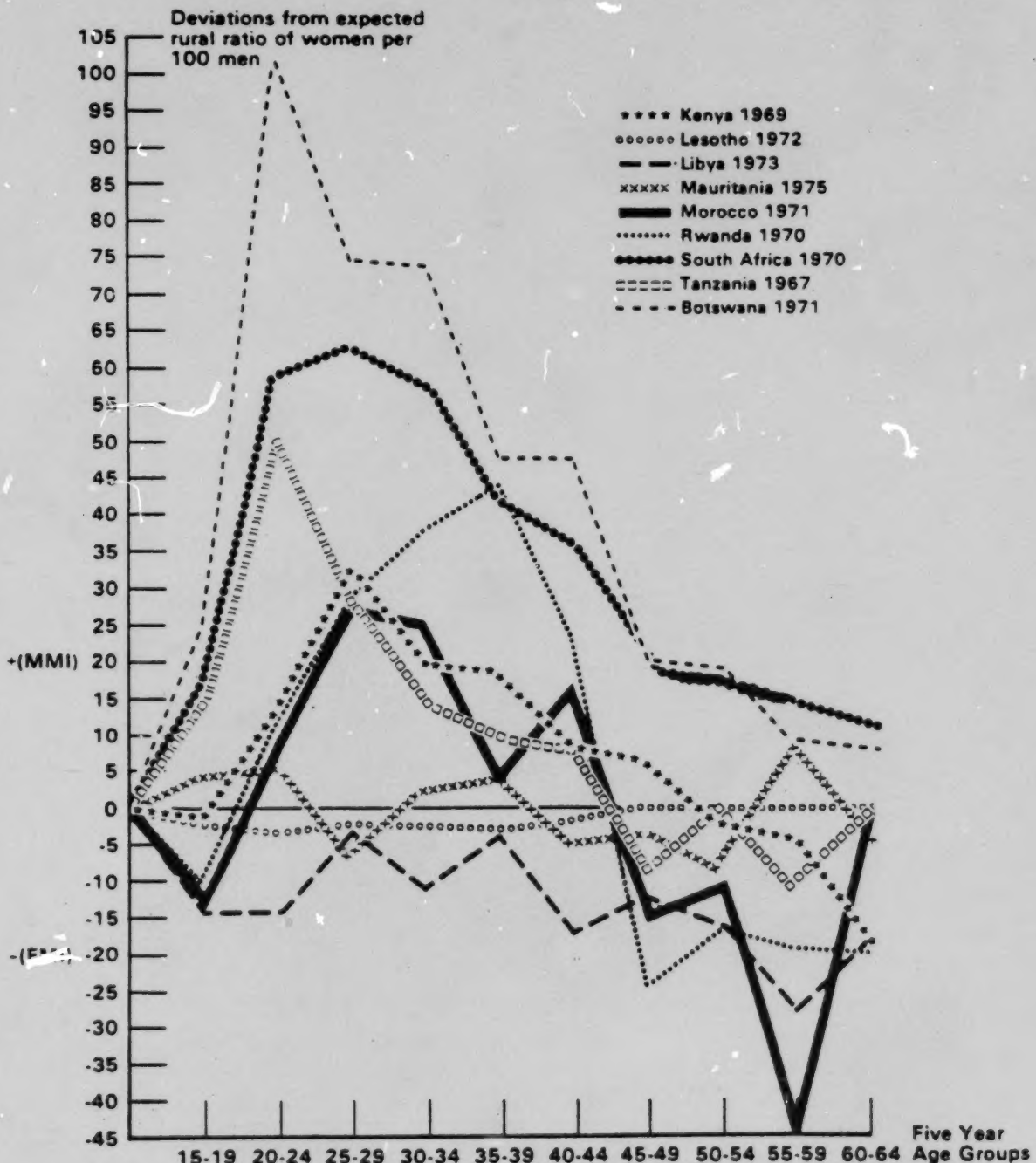
a. Results: Sex Differences in Regional Migration Trends:

Africa. Using population data for fourteen African countries, the Total Migration Index (TMI) shows that, of the four major regions in the Third World, Africa has the highest level of sex differential outmigration from rural areas. The average Total Migration Index (which is the sum of all age specific female and male dominated outmigration) is 187 for the African countries while it is 110 and 111 for South and Central America and the Caribbean respectively, 103 for the Middle East, and 75 for Asia. Only three African countries, Ethiopia, Lesotho and Mauritania, show total migration indexes below 100 suggesting that in these countries there is little or no sex differential migration and, perhaps, little outmigration from rural areas in general (see Table 1).[4/] We will come back to the general question of outmigration for these three countries later on.

Figure 1 reveals a prevailing and quite consistent pattern in most of the other countries in the African region. With the exception of Libya, outmigration from rural areas is heavily male dominated, especially in the three age groups between the ages of twenty and thirty-four. Further, South Africa and Botswana (and, to a lesser extent, Tanzania) show no female dominated migration in any age group. These results are consistent with the evidence in the migration literature which indicates predominant male outmigration for wage labor in urban areas and for work in the mines (Lesotho presents a discordant finding; because of sex-segregated work in the mines, the patterns

4/ Tables 1, 1b, and 2 are at the end of the chapter. Figures 1 through 5 are based on data which is included in Table 1b.

Figure 1. Deviations of the "Observed" Rural Female to Male Ratio from the "Expected" Female to Male Ratio for Africa by Country and by Five Year Age Groups.



Source: Rural Population data for the "observed" sex ratios were obtained from the *UN Demographic Yearbook*, 1976. Date noted for each country refers to year data were collected. Data for the "expected" sex ratios were derived from the U.S. Bureau of the Census estimated life table values.

Note: Positive deviations from the "expected" sex ratio indicate male dominated rural out-migration (MMI), negative deviations reveal female dominated rural out-migration (FMI).

should have been similar to those of South Africa).

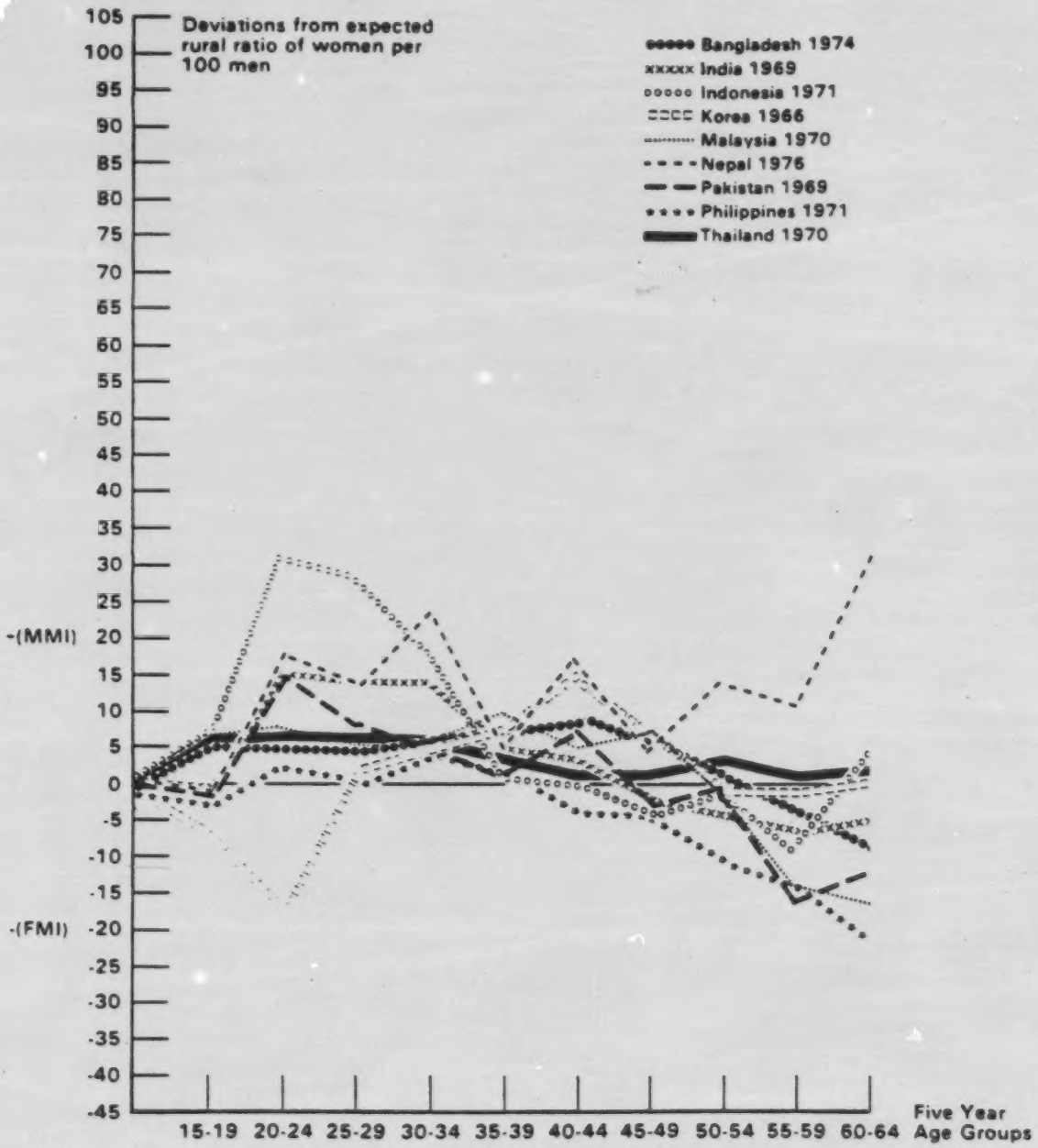
As Figure 1 also shows, except for South Africa, Botswana and Lesotho, all other countries show female dominated outmigration in the 50-54 and on age groups; in many countries, this outmigration starts by age 45. An immediate question arising is that perhaps these data reflect sex differentials in mortality rather than migration. While it cannot be completely discarded, this explanation loses ground since the migration index compares the observed (actual) sex ratio for the specific age group with an expected ratio based on estimated life table values that control for mortality differentials. The recent evidence, moreover, increasingly supports this pattern of female dominated outmigration from rural areas in Africa -- outmigration that takes place when women become widows or separate/divorce and find themselves with no means of economic support in the rural environment. Figure 1 further reveals female dominated outmigration for the ages 15-19 for Kenya, Lesotho, Morocco, Rwanda, and Libya. Libya's general outmigration pattern deviates most within the African context. For unknown reasons it shows female dominated outmigration for all age groups (we found no literature on women's migration in Libya; as such, it emerges as a country in need of sex-specific migration research.)

The standardized urban/rural ratios give additional information on migration of both men and women (migrating jointly or autonomously) that is not reflected in the index because the sex ratios only yield relative or differential magnitudes. They show that, in most countries, there is significant rural to urban migration of both women and men

between the ages of twenty and thirty-four -- a large portion of which probably is family migration (see Table 2). These urbanward trends are present in Mauritania for men and women between the age of twenty-five and thirty-nine, which indicates that there is rural to urban migration in this country that was not picked up by the index. This is probably because men and women migrate in similar numbers. The urban-rural ratios for Ethiopia, however, are more difficult to interpret. They show stable rates for women but do show rural/urban differentials for men between the ages of twenty-five and forty-four. This should have been picked up by the index. As we already mentioned, the other country that has non-interpretable data is Lesotho. The general possibility of increasing migration among autonomous young African women to the cities defines a central issue for policy and program formulation.

Asia. Asia, represented in this analysis by nine countries, has the lowest regional sex differential in rural outmigration (see Table 1). Two countries, Nepal and Indonesia, deviate from this pattern revealing comparatively high levels of male dominated outmigration from rural areas between the ages of 20 to 34. Nepal also reveals male dominated outmigration in the older age groups -- ages 50 and over. Except for this country, and to a lesser extent for Thailand (where in general the least amount of sex differential outmigration is shown), all other countries show small but consistent women dominated outmigration in the older age groups -- a "milder" version of the pattern reflected in the analysis of African countries (see Figure 2).

Figure 2. Deviations of the "Observed" Rural Female to Male Ratio from the "Expected" Female to Male Ratio for Asia by Country and by Five Year Age Groups.



Source: Rural Population data for the "observed" sex ratios were obtained from the *UN Demographic Yearbook* 1976. Date noted for each country refers to year data were collected. Data for the "expected" sex ratios were derived from the U.S. Bureau of the Census estimated life table values.

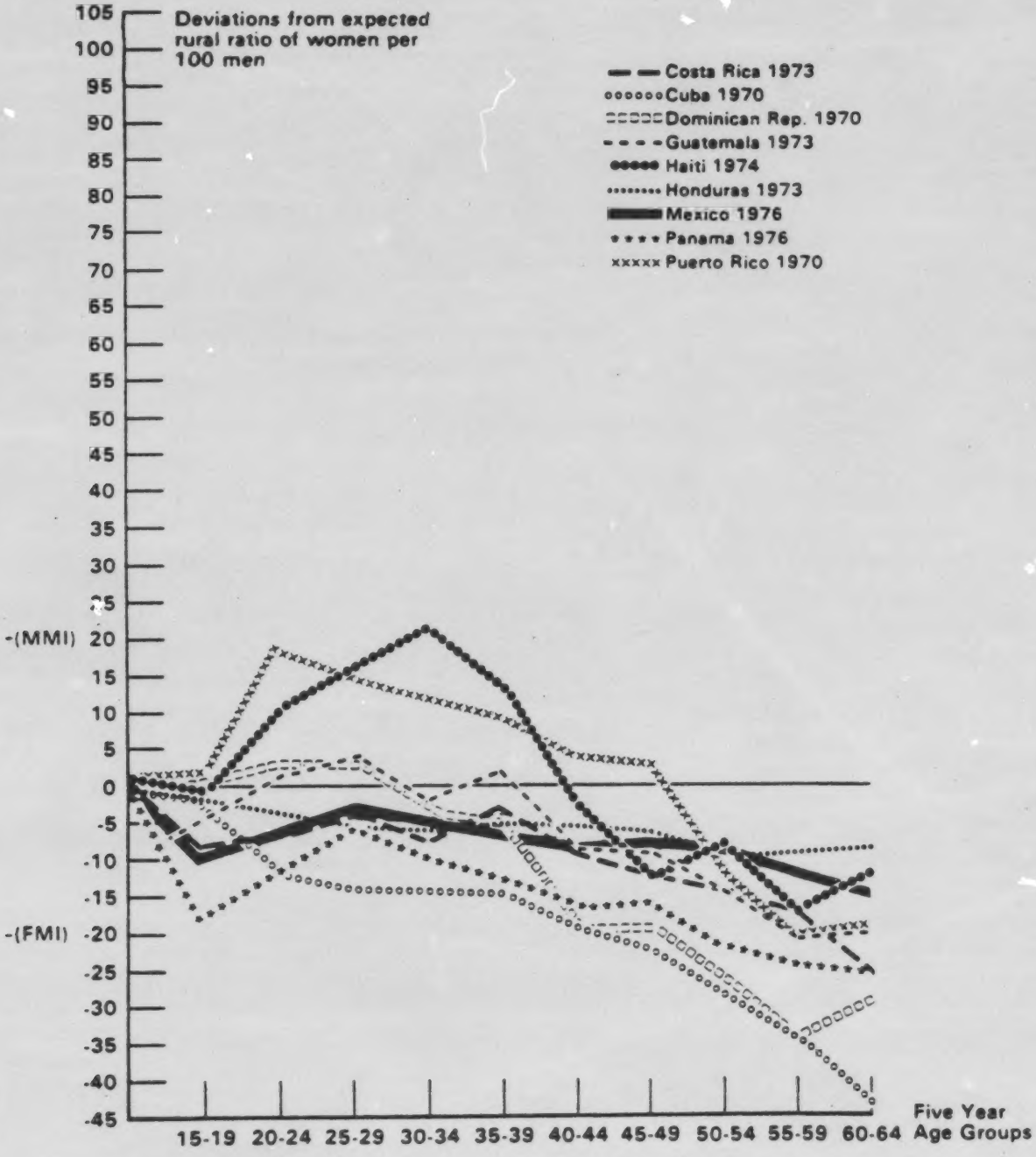
Note: Positive deviations from the "expected" sex ratio indicate male dominated rural out-migration (MMI); negative deviations reveal female dominated rural out-migration (FMI).

Half of the countries show slight female dominated outmigration for young women between the ages of 15 and 19. All Asian countries show a consistent trend of male dominated outmigration between the ages of 25 and 34. These two groups of people probably outmigrate from rural areas -- the young women going to the cities -- mostly for work related reasons. The literature indicates that jobs in the city are a predominant reason for the high number of young women migrants to Seoul, Korea; as Figure 2 shows, the analysis confirms this finding. The analysis of sex differentials also corroborates the well known fact of significant women outmigration in the Philippines. This is the only country in the Asian region that shows a high female dominated outmigration index and almost no male dominated moves (see Table 1).

Data in Table 2 show that, with the exception of Bangaladesh (which shows no substantial outmigration) and Pakistan (which shows only male outmigration), the other seven Asian countries indicate high levels of rural to urban migration of both young men and women between the ages of 15 and 24. The literature suggests that some of these young women migrants move to urban areas with or following their husbands while others move to find jobs in the cities.

Latin America: Central America and the Caribbean. Seven Central American countries plus Cuba, Haiti, and Puerto Rico, all show an extremely high and consistent pattern of female dominated outmigration from rural areas (See Table 1). Costa Rica,

Figure 3. Deviations of the "Observed" Rural Female to Male Ratio from the "Expected" Female to Male Ratio for Latin America; Central America and the Caribbean.



Source: Rural Population data for the "observed" sex ratios were obtained from the *UN Demographic Yearbook* 1976. Date noted for each country refers to year data were collected. Data for the "expected" sex ratios were derived from the U.S. Bureau of the Census estimated life table values.

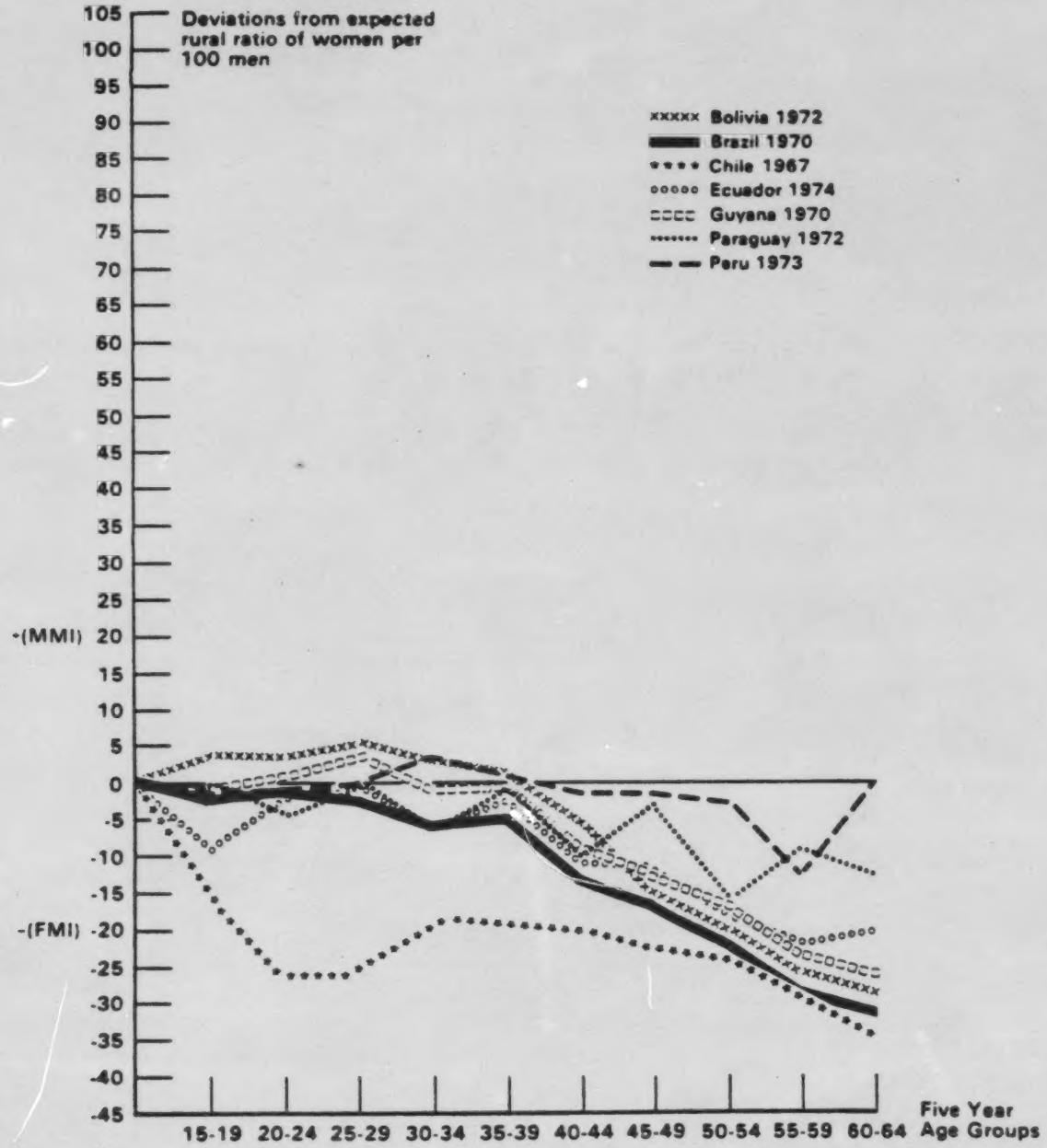
Note: Positive deviations from the "expected" sex ratio indicate male dominated rural out-migration (MMI), negative deviations reveal female dominated rural out-migration (FMI).

Cuba, Honduras, Mexico and Panama reveal female dominated outmigration for all age groups. The remaining countries, interestingly enough, show neutral or slightly male-dominated outmigration within the younger age groups, especially between the ages of 20 and 29 (see Figure 3).

Except for Haiti in particular, and to a lesser extent for Mexico and Panama, the urban/rural ratios indicate that the migration of women to the urban areas increases steadily with age. Haiti and Panama show very high rural to urban migration rates for young women ages 15-19. The urban/rural ratios show rural to urban migration occurring with less intensity for men than for women; where it does occur, it tends to concentrate in the 20 to 29 age groups (Table 2). This combination of findings suggests that the male dominated outmigration picked up by the index is international (labor) migration rather than rural to urban migration within the country of origin. The evidence from the literature confirms the general pattern for the region: women predominate in rural outmigration movements at all ages; where men predominate, it is a result of international rather than national urbanward migration. The analysis further suggests that for women in the younger versus the older age groups, there is significant outmigration to other rural areas or other countries, rather than mostly national urbanward moves. Many of these younger women probably move with or following their mates; yet many others probably move autonomously.

South America. The Seven South American countries show a consistent trend but with extremely quantitative variations. Except for Guyana, six South American countries repeat the regional trend for

Figure 4. Deviations of the "Observed" Rural Female to Male Ratio from the "Expected" Female to Male Ratio for Latin America: South America by Country and by Five Year Age Groups.



Source: Rural Population data for the "observed" sex ratios were obtained from the *UN Demographic Yearbook*, 1976. Date noted for each country refers to year data were collected. Data for the "expected" sex ratios were derived from the U.S. Bureau of the Census estimated life table values.

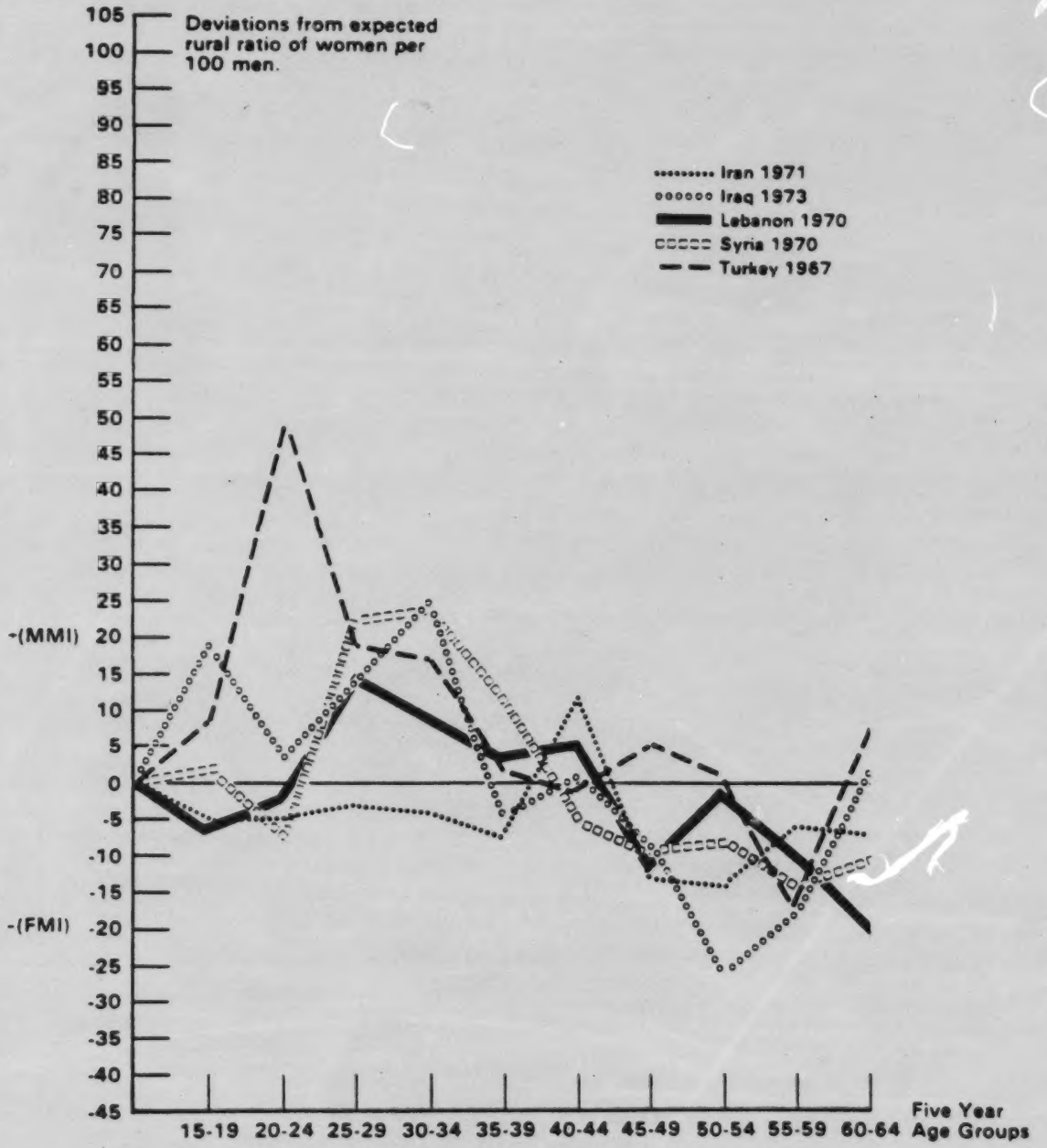
Note: Positive deviations from the "expected" sex ratio indicate male dominated rural out-migration (MMI), negative deviations reveal female dominated rural out-migration (FMI).

Central America and the Caribbean and show female dominated rural outmigration in all or almost all the age groups. Unlike any other region reviewed here, however, the extent of sex differential in-migration varies from an extremely high value for Chile to an extremely low one for Peru (a TMI of 235 for Chile and of only 28 for Peru -- as shown in Table 1).

Figure 4 shows particularly high sex differentials in rural outmigration for the older age groups for all countries. Apart from Guyana, only Bolivia and Peru show slight male dominated outmigration from rural areas; Bolivia reveals this dominant male outmigration for the age groups between 15 and 34, and Peru only for the 30 to 34 age group. The urban/rural ratios confirm the urbanward migration of women. They also show a rural to urban migration of men for all countries (except Guyana) occurring especially between the ages of 20 to 34 (Table 2). Table 2 also indicates rural to urban migration in Peru (not picked up in the sex differential index) of men between the ages of 20 to 34 and of women between the ages of 15 to 29. Paraguay, another country with low sex differentials, reveals in the urban/rural ratio urbanward migration of both men and women, especially in the very young and very old age groups.

Middle East. The Middle East follows Asia in yielding comparatively low sex differentials in rural outmigration -- as shown by the average total migration index (TMI) for five countries in the region (see Table 1). According to this index, Turkey has the greatest extent of sex differential in outmigration, which is heavily male

Figure 5. Deviations of the "Observed" Rural Female to Male Ratio from the "Expected" Female to Male Ratio for the Middle East by Country and by Five Year Age Groups.



Source: Rural Population data for the "observed" sex ratios were obtained from the *UN Demographic Yearbook*, 1976. Date noted for each country refers to year data were collected. Data for the "expected" sex ratios were derived from the U.S. Bureau of the Census estimated life table values.

Note: Positive deviations from the "expected" sex ratio indicate male dominated rural out-migration (MMI), negative deviations reveal female dominated rural out-migration (FMI).

dominated while Iran shows the least amount of sex differential rural outmigration. 5/

As it can be observed in Figure 5, it is harder to identify consistent age specific patterns of sex differential rural outmigration for this region than, for instance, it is for Africa or Central America. It may well be that the absence of a regional pattern is due to the small number of cases (countries). An additional problem with interpreting the Middle Eastern sex differential rates is that they are based on Census data collected prior to the oil related labor migration of the 1970s. This labor migration has probably altered substantially the sex differentials in rural outmigration.

Given these data limitations, the more consistent regional trends are male dominated rural outmigration between the ages 25 to 34 for five countries (Iran being an exception) and female dominated rural outmigration from age 45 onwards also for five countries (Turkey being an exception in this case). This latter finding is probably reflecting outmigration of widows while the former is a function of labor related male migration.

Iran shows a small but quite consistent pattern of female dominated outmigration across age groups. 6/ The urban/rural ratios additionally show rural to urban migration of both men and women especial-

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5/ The urban/rural ratios for Turkey indicate higher male than female migration to the cities. However, the gap between the two is smaller than is indicated by the MMI and FMI of this country. The small urban/rural ratios for males may reflect heavy male outmigration from urban areas to other countries -- men who are replaced by male migrants from rural areas.

6/ However, this may well be a function of high female underenumeration in the rural areas of this country.

ly between the ages of 30 to 54, which probably indicates family out-migration.

The urban/rural ratios for the other countries in the region also show rural to urban migration for both sexes in the middle age groups. However, the age ranges in which men and women are most apt to migrate differ from country to country.

Table 1a: Sex Differentials in Outmigration from Rural Areas in Third World Countries by Region and Indicating Total (TMI), Female-Dominated (FMI), and Male-Dominated (MMI) Outmigration

	TMI	FMI	MMI
AFRICA			
$\bar{x}$ (SD)	187 (123)	59 (45)	128 (132)
Benin	187[a/]	48	139
Botswana	429	0	429
Ethiopia	95	94	1
Kenya	126	27	99
Lesotho	13	13	0
Liberia	391	117	274
Libyan Arab Republic	137	137	0
Mauritania	52	30	22
Morocco	163	84	79
Rwanda	238	91	147
South Africa	337	0	337
Southern Rhodesia	209	92	117
Tanzania	136	20	116
Uganda	104	66	38

Source: United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs, 1977. Demographic Yearbook 1976. (Table 7); and United States Bureau of the Census, c. 1960-1975. Country Demographic Profiles for: Kenya, Ghana, India, Indonesia, Korea, Malaysia, Nepal, Philippines, Thailand, Costa Rica, Guatemala, Honduras, Mexico, Panama, Brazil, and Chile.

a/ TMI = [FMI + MMI]. For each country FMI values are the sum over five year age groups between the ages 15-64 of the observed negative deviations from the expected number of rural women per 100 rural men. MMI values are the sum over five year age groups between the ages 15-64 of the observed positive deviations from the expected number of rural women per 100 rural men.

Table 1a(Continued): Sex Differentials in Outmigration from Rural Areas in Third World Countries by Region and Indicating Total (TMI), Female-Dominated (FMI), and Male-Dominated (MMI) Outmigration

	TMI	FMI	MMI
ASIA			
$\bar{x}$ (SD)	75 (29)	21 (18)	54 (38)
Bangladesh	54	11	43
India	72	18	54
Indonesia	101	13	88
Korea	59	25	34
Malaysia	80	32	48
Nepal	138	1	137
Pakistan	70	32	38
Philippines	64	57	7
Thailand	38	0	38
MIDDLE EAST			
$\bar{x}$ (SD)	103 (23)	49 (17)	55 (37)
Iran	76	64	12
Iraq	122	57	65
Lebanon	81	51	30
Syria	111	53	58
Turkey	127	19	108

Source: Ibid.

Table 1[a](Continued): Sex Differentials in Outmigration from Rural Areas in Third World Countries by Region and Indicating Total (TMI), Female-Dominated (FMI), and Male-Dominated (MMI) Outmigration

	TMI	FMI	MMI
LATIN AMERICA:			
CENTRAL AMERICA & THE CARIBBEAN			
$\bar{x}$ (SD)	111 (43)	95 (49)	14 (24)
Costa Rica	104	104	0
Cuba	200	200	0
Dominican Republic	142	135	7
El Salvador	74	60	14
Guatemala	82	73	9
Haiti	114	53	61
Honduras	59	59	0
Mexico	78	78	0
Nicaragua	79	76	3
Panama	160	160	0
Puerto Rico	116	51	65
SOUTH AMERICA			
$\bar{x}$ (SD)	110 (65)	94 (77)	16 (33)
Bolivia	113	96	17
Brazil	134	134	0
Chile	235	235	0
Ecuador	103	103	0
Guyana	97	5	92
Paraguay	63	62	1
Peru	28	23	5

Source: Ibid

Table 1b (Continued): Sex Differentials in Outmigration from Rural Areas in Third World Countries by Region and By Age

MIDDLE EAST		15-19			20-24			25-29			30-34			35-39			40-44			45-49			50-54			55-59			60-64		
		OB.	EX.	DEV.	OB.	EX.	DEV.	OB.	EX.	DEV.	OB.	EX.	DEV.	OB.	EX.	DEV.	OB.	EX.	DEV.	OB.	EX.	DEV.	OB.	EX.	DEV.	OB.	EX.	DEV.	OB.	EX.	DEV.
Iran	1971	92	97	(-5)	93	98	(-5)	96	99	(-3)	96	100	(-4)	94	101	(-7)	113	101	(12)	90	103	(-13)	90	104	(-14)	100	106	(-6)	101	108	(-7)
Iraq	1973	116	97	(19)	102	98	(4)	114	99	(15)	124	100	(24)	96	101	(-5)	102	101	(1)	95	103	(-8)	78	104	(-26)	88	106	(-18)	110	108	(2)
Lebanon	1970	91	97	(-6)	96	98	(-2)	113	99	(14)	108	100	(8)	104	101	(3)	106	101	(5)	91	103	(-12)	103	104	(-1)	96	106	(-10)	88	108	(-20)
Syrian Arab. Republic	1970	99	97	(2)	91	98	(-7)	121	99	(22)	123	100	(23)	112	101	(11)	96	101	(-5)	94	103	(-9)	96	104	(-8)	92	106	(-14)	98	108	(-10)
Turkey	1966-1967	105	97	(8)	147	98	(49)	118	99	(19)	117	100	(17)	103	101	(2)	100	101	(-1)	108	103	(5)	105	104	(1)	88	106	(-18)	115	108	(7)

Note: Estimated life tables for Middle Eastern countries were not available through the U.S. Bureau of the Census. However, data for the East Bank of Jordan (1972) were obtained from "A Study of Mortality in Jordan with Special Reference to Infant Mortality," by Sivamurthy Ma'Ayta (1975). The expected sex ratios used for all Middle Eastern countries were derived from these data.

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Table 1b (Continued): Sex Differentials in Outmigration from Rural Areas in Third World Countries by Region and By Age

SOUTH AMERICA		15-19			20-24			25-29			30-34			35-39			40-44			45-49			50-54			55-59			60-64		
		OB.	EX.	DEV.	OB.	EX.	DEV.	OB.	EX.	DEV.	OB.	EX.	DEV.	OB.	EX.	DEV.	OB.	EX.	DEV.	OB.	EX.	DEV.	OB.	EX.	DEV.	OB.	EX.	DEV.	OB.	EX.	DEV.
Bolivia	1972	102	98	(4)	102	98	(4)	104	99	(5)	103	100	(3)	102	101	(1)	97	103	(-6)	90	105	(-15)	88	108	(-20)	84	110	(-26)	85	114	(-29)
Brazil	1970	95	98	(-3)	96	98	(-2)	96	99	(-3)	94	100	(-6)	96	101	(-5)	89	103	(-14)	88	105	(-17)	85	108	(-23)	81	110	(-29)	81	113	(-32)
Chile	1976	81	97	(-16)	72	98	(-26)	73	98	(-25)	81	99	(-18)	82	101	(-19)	82	102	(-20)	81	104	(-23)	83	107	(-24)	82	111	(-29)	81	116	(-35)
Ecuador	1974	90	98	(-8)	95	98	(-3)	99	99	(0)	94	100	(-6)	98	101	(-3)	92	103	(-11)	93	105	(-12)	90	108	(-18)	88	110	(-22)	94	114	(-20)
Guyana	1970	97	98	(-1)	99	98	(1)	103	99	(4)	98	100	(-2)	100	101	(-1)	95	103	(-8)	92	105	(-13)	91	108	(-17)	86	110	(-24)	88	114	(-26)
Paraguay	1972	98	98	(0)	94	98	(-4)	98	99	(-1)	94	100	(-6)	102	101	(1)	93	103	(-10)	102	105	(-3)	92	108	(-16)	101	110	(-9)	101	114	(-13)
Peru	1973	96	98	(-2)	97	98	(-1)	99	99	(0)	104	100	(4)	102	101	(1)	101	103	(-2)	103	105	(-2)	105	108	(-3)	97	110	(-13)	114	114	(0)

Notes: Estimated life tables were available for only Brazil (1967) and Chile (1969-1970). The averages of the age-specific expected ratios were used for all other South American countries listed above.

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Table 1b (Continued): Sex Differentials in Outmigration from Rural Areas in Third World Countries by Region and by Age

CENTRAL AMERICA AND THE CARIBBEAN		15-19			20-24			25-29			30-34			35-39			40-44			45-49			50-54			55-59			60-64		
		OB.	EX.	DEV	OB.	EX.	DEV	OB.	EX.	DEV	OB.	EX.	DEV	OB.	EX.	DEV	OB.	EX.	DEV	OB.	EX.	DEV	OB.	EX.	DEV	OB.	EX.	DEV	OB.	EX.	DEV
Costa Rica	1973	89	97	(-8)	91	97	(-6)	94	97	(-3)	91	98	(-7)	95	98	(-3)	90	99	(-9)	87	99	(-12)	86	100	(-14)	84	101	(-17)	79	104	(-25)
Cuba	1970	95	97	(-2)	86	97	(-11)	84	98	(-14)	84	98	(-14)	85	99	(-14)	81	100	(-19)	78	100	(-22)	74	102	(-28)	70	103	(-33)	62	105	(-43)
Dominican Rep.	1970	98	97	(1)	100	97	(3)	101	98	(3)	95	98	(-3)	94	99	(-5)	81	100	(-19)	81	100	(-19)	76	102	(-26)	69	103	(-34)	76	105	(-29)
El Salvador	1971	99	97	(2)	99	97	(2)	108	98	(10)	96	98	(-2)	93	99	(-6)	92	100	(-8)	97	100	(-3)	94	102	(-8)	92	103	(-11)	83	105	(-22)
Guatemala	1973	97	96	(1)	98	96	(2)	101	97	(4)	95	97	(-2)	99	97	(2)	90	98	(-8)	90	99	(-9)	87	101	(-14)	83	103	(-20)	85	105	(-20)
Haiti	1974	97	97	(0)	108	97	(11)	114	98	(16)	119	98	(21)	112	99	(13)	96	100	(-4)	88	100	(-12)	94	102	(-8)	86	103	(-17)	93	105	(-12)
Honduras	1973	96	98	(-2)	96	99	(-3)	95	100	(-5)	95	101	(-6)	98	103	(-5)	99	104	(-5)	99	105	(-6)	98	107	(-9)	99	108	(-9)	101	110	(-9)
Mexico	1976	88	97	(-9)	91	97	(-6)	95	98	(-3)	93	98	(-5)	93	99	(-6)	92	100	(-8)	95	102	(-7)	96	104	(-8)	94	106	(-12)	95	109	(-14)
Nicaragua	1971	92	97	(-5)	97	97	(0)	101	98	(3)	96	98	(-2)	98	99	(-1)	89	100	(-11)	91	100	(-9)	86	102	(-16)	82	103	(-21)	84	105	(-21)
Panama	1976	80	97	(-17)	86	97	(-11)	91	97	(-6)	87	97	(-10)	84	97	(-13)	81	97	(-16)	81	97	(-16)	76	98	(-22)	74	98	(-24)	74	99	(-25)
Puerto Rico	1970	99	97	(2)	116	97	(19)	113	98	(15)	110	98	(12)	109	99	(10)	104	100	(4)	103	100	(3)	90	102	(-12)	83	103	(-20)	86	105	(-19)

Note: Estimated life tables were available for Costa Rica (1972-1974); Guatemala (1970-1972); Honduras (1974); Mexico (1970); and Panama (1969-1970). Age-specific averages of estimates for these countries were substituted for those countries for which data were not available.

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Table 1b (Continued): Sex Differentials in Outmigration from Rural Areas in Third World Countries by Region and by Age

ASIA		15-19			20-24			25-29			30-34			35-39			40-44			45-49			50-54			55-59			60-64		
		OB.	EX.	DEV.	OB.	EX.	DEV.	OB.	EX.	DEV.	OB.	EX.	DEV.	OB.	EX.	DEV.	OB.	EX.	DEV.	OB.	EX.	DEV.	OB.	EX.	DEV.	OB.	EX.	DEV.	OB.	EX.	DEV.
Bangladesh	1974	96	91	(5)	96	91	(5)	95	90	(5)	95	89	(6)	95	88	(7)	96	88	(8)	95	89	(6)	92	91	(1)	91	94	(-3)	90	98	(-8)
India	1971	90	91	(-1)	06	91	(15)	05	90	(15)	03	89	(14)	94	88	(6)	92	88	(4)	87	89	(-2)	87	91	(-4)	88	94	(-6)	93	98	(-5)
Indonesia	1971	03	98	(5)	79	98	(31)	28	99	(29)	17	99	(18)	01	100	(1)	00	100	(0)	99	102	(-3)	03	104	(-1)	98	107	(-9)	16	112	(4)
Korea (Rep.)	1970	92	98	(-6)	82	99	(-17)	02	100	(2)	04	100	(4)	08	101	(7)	17	102	(15)	09	103	(6)	05	106	(-1)	08	109	(-1)	15	115	(0)
Malaysia	1970	03	97	(6)	05	97	(8)	03	97	(6)	03	97	(6)	07	97	(10)	02	97	(5)	05	98	(7)	98	100	(-2)	89	103	(-14)	91	107	(-16)
Nepal	1971	92	93	(-1)	10	92	(18)	05	91	(14)	12	89	(23)	93	88	(5)	03	86	(17)	89	85	(4)	97	83	(14)	94	83	(11)	12	81	(31)
Pakistan	1968	89	91	(-2)	06	91	(15)	99	90	(9)	95	89	(6)	89	88	(1)	95	88	(7)	87	89	(-2)	90	91	(-1)	79	94	(-15)	86	98	(-12)
Philippines	1970	97	99	(-2)	01	100	(1)	05	101	(4)	04	102	(2)	00	103	(-3)	01	105	(-4)	03	106	(-3)	99	109	(-10)	98	112	(-14)	95	116	(-21)
Thailand	1970	02	96	(6)	03	96	(7)	04	97	(7)	03	97	(6)	01	97	(4)	99	98	(1)	00	99	(1)	03	100	(3)	03	102	(1)	08	106	(2)

Note: Estimated life tables were available for India (1969); Indonesia (1961); the Republic of Korea (1966); Malaysia (1970); Nepal (1974-1976); the Philippines (1969-1971); and Thailand (1970). For Pakistan and Bangladesh we used data for India which was believed to most closely approximate their sex-specific mortality rates.

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Table 1b: Sex Differentials in Outmigration from Rural Areas in Third World Countries by Region and by Age.

AFRICA		15-19			20-24			25-29			30-34			35-39			40-44			45-49			50-54			55-59			60-64		
		a/ OB.	EX.	DEV.	OB.	EX.	DEV.	OB.	EX.	DEV.	OB.	EX.	DEV.	OB.	EX.	DEV.	OB.	EX.	DEV.	OB.	EX.	DEV.	OB.	EX.	DEV.	OB.	EX.	DEV.	OB.	EX.	DEV.
Benin	1975	110	99	(11)	161	99	(62)	137	100	(37)	127	101	(26)	99	102	(-3)	105	102	(3)	95	103	(-8)	103	105	(-2)	92	107	(-15)	90	110	(-20)
Botswana	1971	123	99	(24)	201	99	(102)	175	100	(75)	175	101	(74)	150	102	(48)	150	102	(48)	123	103	(20)	124	105	(19)	118	107	(11)	118	110	(8)
Ethiopia	1968	100	99	(1)	99	99	(0)	95	100	(-5)	94	101	(-7)	96	102	(-6)	95	102	(-7)	93	103	(-10)	92	105	(-13)	87	107	(-20)	84	110	(-26)
Kenya	1969	98	100	(-2)	114	100	(14)	133	101	(32)	122	102	(20)	122	103	(19)	111	103	(8)	111	105	(6)	104	106	(-2)	104	108	(-4)	91	110	(-19)
Lesotho	1972	97	99	(-2)	96	99	(-3)	98	100	(-2)	99	101	(-2)	99	102	(-3)	101	102	(-1)	103	103	(0)	105	105	(0)	107	107	(0)	110	110	(0)
Liberia	1971	116	99	(17)	185	99	(86)	190	101	(90)	156	101	(55)	128	102	(26)	71	102	(-31)	85	103	(-18)	89	105	(-16)	73	107	(-34)	92	110	(-18)
Libyan Arab Republic	1973	85	99	(-14)	85	99	(-14)	97	100	(-3)	90	101	(-11)	98	102	(-4)	85	102	(-17)	91	103	(-12)	89	105	(-16)	80	107	(-27)	91	110	(-19)
Mauritania	1975	103	99	(4)	104	99	(5)	93	100	(-7)	103	101	(2)	105	102	(3)	97	102	(-5)	99	103	(-4)	96	105	(-9)	115	107	(8)	105	110	(-5)
Morocco	1971	87	99	(-12)	107	99	(8)	127	100	(27)	126	101	(25)	106	102	(4)	117	102	(15)	88	103	(-15)	94	105	(-11)	62	107	(-45)	109	110	(-1)
Rwanda	1970	89	99	(-10)	111	99	(12)	129	100	(29)	139	101	(38)	146	102	(44)	126	102	(24)	78	103	(-25)	88	105	(-17)	88	107	(-19)	90	110	(-20)
South Africa	1970	115	99	(16)	158	99	(59)	162	100	(62)	158	101	(57)	144	102	(42)	138	102	(36)	123	103	(20)	125	105	(20)	121	107	(14)	121	110	(11)
South Rhodesia	1969	105	99	(6)	138	99	(39)	138	100	(38)	121	101	(20)	116	102	(14)	101	102	(-1)	97	103	(-6)	80	105	(-25)	74	107	(-33)	83	110	(-27)
Tanzania	1967	113	99	(14)	149	99	(50)	129	100	(29)	116	101	(15)	102	102	(0)	110	102	(8)	94	103	(-9)	105	105	(0)	97	107	(-10)	109	110	(-1)
Uganda	1969	100	99	(1)	119	99	(20)	115	100	(15)	101	101	(2)	96	102	(-6)	100	102	(-2)	91	103	(-12)	99	105	(-6)	85	107	(-22)	92	110	(-18)

Notes: The "expected" sex ratios take into consideration differential sex ratios at birth and sex-specific mortality differentials. Estimated life tables were used to determine country specific mortality differentials. However, data were available only for Kenya (1969) and Ghana (1970), for each of the African countries listed above (except Kenya), age-specific averages for these two countries were used.

The "observed" or actual female/male ratios were obtained for the rural regions of each country.

a/ OB. = "observed"; EX. = "expected"; and DEV. = deviation of the "observed" from the "expected" ratio.

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Table 2: Standardized Ratio of Urban to Rural Population in Africa, by Country, Age and Sex

		All Ages	15-19	20-24	25-29	30-34	35-39	40-44	45-49	50-54	55-59	60-64
AFRICA												
$\bar{x}$ (SD)	F.		113 (24)	131 (25)	132 (25)	114 (17)	105 (20)	95 (15)	85 (19)	82 (22)	78 (8)	77 (30)
	M.		100 (21)	150 (50)	159 (44)	157 (42)	142 (37)	123 (35)	101 (29)	90 (23)	78 (19)	71 (21)
Benin	F.	15.5	99	96	108	111	95	85	87	65	77	50
	M.	15.6	109	89	105	96	86	77	81	82	89	44
Botswana	F.	10.5	130	160	143	143	102	102	74	74	52	52
	M.	12.4	89	226	237	237	183	183	122	122	74	74
Ethiopia	F.	10.1	102	102	101	101	101	101	97	97	97	97
	M.	8.8	99	99	135	135	135	135	70	70	70	70
Kenya	F.	9.0	123	166	139	107	107	78	78	57	57	46
	M.	12.9	88	188	128	203	203	150	150	91	91	43
Lesotho	F.	5.8	109	127	121	108	110	90	79	88	69	67
	M.	4.5	86	82	96	124	102	96	100	115	84	73
Liberia	F.	33.9	138	162	118	104	74	93	54	43	40	38
	M.	42.7	138	198	185	166	124	94	63	52	44	44
Libyan Arab Republic	F.	146.0	113	128	114	107	96	89	78	76	75	76
	M.	155.0	93	112	132	136	124	120	104	93	75	70
Mauritania	F.	27.6	52	91	176	149	157	107	70	103	51	102
	M.	32.2	56	102	166	177	183	10	73	68	51	74

Source: United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs, Demographic Yearbook 1976, (Table 7). United States Bureau of the Census, Country Demographic Profiles (c. 1960-1975) for: Kenya, Ghana, India, Indonesia, Korea, Malaysia, Nepal, Philippines, Thailand, Costa Rica, Guatemala, Honduras, Mexico, Panama, Brazil, and Chile

a/ The age and sex specific urban to rural ratios were standardized by the total urban to rural population for each sex.

by Country, Age and Sex

		All Ages	15-19	20-24	25-29	30-34	35-39	40-44	45-49	50-54	55-59	60-64
CENTRAL AMERICA & THE CARIBBEAN												
$\bar{x}$ (SD)	F.		115 (19)	118 (12)	112 (16)	113 (7)	108 (13)	115 (13)	115 (12)	118 (16)	127 (20)	120 (26)
	M.		107 (11)	113 (10)	113 (10)	110 (8)	105 (12)	109 (12)	107 (13)	102 (12)	106 (12)	96 (16)
Costa Rica	F.	74.8	118	126	121	115	116	121	129	134	143	152
	M.	62.4	108	116	115	111	110	115	117	113	121	113
Cuba	F.	160.0	78	98	114	123	123	133	135	144	163	169
	M.	136.0	85	93	111	115	115	121	119	116	126	121
Dominican Rep.	F.	72.1	121	126	117	113	108	108	114	102	126	102
	M.	60.3	108	119	116	118	108	102	100	90	96	78
El Salvador	F.	70.2	119	121	107	109	109	118	120	134	132	141
	M.	60.7	123	124	117	99	95	110	110	110	110	107
Guatemala	F.	60.8	115	116	110	107	102	110	114	122	136	125
	M.	53.7	110	117	110	104	101	102	103	110	115	108
Haiti	F.	28.9	141	135	109	103	76	87	92	87	92	81
	M.	22.0	120	121	99	114	86	93	80	80	86	68
Honduras	F.	41.8	99	106	113	119	112	105	102	110	104	103
	M.	37.2	97	101	122	106	107	102	95	91	94	94
Mexico	F.	181.0	120	122	107	110	103	113	112	106	115	98
	M.	169.0	113	118	110	107	101	106	107	101	104	86
Nicaragua	F.	101.0	119	113	100	106	104	115	112	115	141	125
	M.	81.9	108	104	95	104	98	104	98	92	104	90
Panama	F.	110.0	142	135	120	113	108	117	119	121	131	115
	M.	91.1	112	123	123	108	100	111	117	112	114	95
Puerto Rico	F.	145.0	90	103	114	123	128	134	121	119	116	110
	M.	133.0	92	111	120	129	133	137	128	111	99	92

Table 2 (Continued): Standardized Ratio of Urban to Rural Populations in Latin America, by Country, Age and Sex

		All Ages	15-19	20-24	25-29	30-34	35-39	40-44	45-49	50-54	54-59	60-64
SOUTH AMERICA												
$\bar{x}$ (SD)	F.		108 (18)	115 (17)	114 (15)	112 (10)	110 (9)	112 (9)	110 (12)	111 (14)	114 (16)	114 (22)
	M.		106 (16)	109 (11)	111 (8)	110 (10)	106 (8)	107 (7)	104 (9)	100 (5)	101 (13)	100 (15)
Bolivia	F.	56.0	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
	M.	56.0	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Brazil	F.	134.0	104	113	114	121	121	125	124	122	134	134
	M.	120.0	98	108	110	118	119	119	116	109	111	108
Chile	F.	414.0	104	133	139	128	117	114	110	103	100	98
	M.	331.0	100	113	119	120	112	108	102	93	83	76
Ecuador	F.	75.4	133	128	114	107	99	104	101	101	106	93
	M.	65.9	119	122	116	106	96	99	97	94	95	84
Guyana	F.	43.8	77	84	94	105	113	117	124	131	133	145
	M.	40.0	84	91	100	97	99	102	97	101	101	111
Paraguay	F.	64.3	123	124	119	117	115	120	119	121	126	131
	M.	55.4	132	111	111	110	109	113	117	104	123	121
Peru	F	120.0	116	120	119	109	104	105	95	97	98	97
	M	121.0	109	118	121	121	108	111	101	100	95	102

Source: Ibid.

Table 2 (Continued): Standardized Ratio of Urban to Rural Populations in the Middle East, by Country, Age and Sex

		All Ages	15-19	20-24	25-29	30-34	35-39	40-44	45-49	50-54	55-59	60-64
MIDDLE EAST												
x̄ (SD)	F.		100 (7)	111 (16)	108 (10)	105 (16)	111 (9)	104 (13)	99 (17)	97 (25)	117 (30)	96 (6)
	M.		104 (9)	109 (17)	122 (16)	123 (95)	114 (76)	122 (31)	97 (21)	93 (26)	101 (21)	95 (20)
Iran	F.	69.4	101	82	95	117	123	119	118	133	104	102
	M.	71.3	95	82	100	121	122	170	108	120	123	127
Iraq	F.	156.0	87	124	103	79	112	86	72	64	170	99
	M.	160.0	115	129	126	113	102	86	61	52	127	101
Lebanon	F.	151.0	105	114	123	119	107	99	101	101	101	87
	M.	150.0	98	116	140	128	117	113	102	107	104	80
Syrian Arab Republic	F.	75.7	103	117	111	106	97	101	95	90	103	94
	M.	78.1	107	108	134	137	120	112	101	89	102	78
Turkey	F.	52.5	103	115	110	102	114	115	107	98	106	96
	M.	53.3	104	111	112	117	120	127	114	98	91	89

Source: Ibid

Table 2 (Continued) Standardized Ratio of Urban to Rural Populations in Asia, by Country, Age and Sex

		All ages	15-19	20-24	25-29	30-34	35-39	40-44	45-49	50-54	55-59	60-64
ASIA												
x (50)	F.		121 (17)	122 (24)	111 (18)	106 (8)	101 (5)	98 (4)	92 (6)	88 (12)	92 (15)	84 (13)
	M.		118 (14)	129 (16)	119 (14)	113 (9)	106 (10)	106 (7)	104 (11)	95 (11)	90 (12)	83 (15)
Bangladesh	F.	7.5	93	92	106	104	99	97	83	73	69	69
	M.	7.5	91	93	103	108	117	123	124	111	87	76
India	F.	23.6	122	119	107	99	103	93	92	88	84	84
	M.	26.0	119	139	120	115	109	107	103	93	86	77
Indonesia	F.	20.6	129	124	96	95	93	92	93	86	93	78
	M.	21.1	128	150	113	106	87	95	90	88	91	73
Korea (Rep.)	F.	69.9	157	174	152	119	102	94	83	72	68	64
	M.	69.8	145	132	155	135	114	106	94	78	65	56
Malaysia	F.	40.2	115	126	116	108	107	102	97	97	110	100
	M.	40.4	120	129	118	109	109	105	102	99	102	94
Nepal	F.	3.8	113	107	99	96	96	96	97	98	96	91
	M.	4.4	117	138	117	107	95	102	110	100	92	87
Pakistan	F.	34.6	115	95	90	107	106	102	94	74	102	77
	M.	38.4	120	126	110	110	114	104	116	80	82	77
Philippines	F.	48.3	126	132	121	108	100	102	96	101	102	100
	M.	45.1	106	125	112	111	102	106	97	99	102	98
Thailand	F.	15.3	122	131	119	114	105	101	97	102	101	97
	M.	15.2	120	129	122	117	106	103	97	104	105	105

Source: Ibid.

b. International Migration:

There are pronounced data limitations which severely hinder a satisfactory description of women's involvement in international migration:

1. Sex specific data are scarce and unreliable;
2. When available these data do not distinguish between migration of autonomous women and migration of dependent women.
3. These data are based upon the immigrant stock, rather than emigrant stock, immigrant and/or emigrant flows.
4. Available stock data on immigrants do not reflect migrant characteristics such as age, labor force participation, incomes, types of employment and recency of migration.
5. Comparative data on the stock or flow characteristics of internal and international immigrants are lacking.
6. Most immigration statistics on women do not incorporate breakdowns by region, ethnic group or national origin, nor do they always distinguish between tourists and migrants. This problem is particularly visible with regard to emigration statistics.
7. When number of migrants are given for a specific time period, it is difficult to interpret the data. For instance, when for a given country total migrants for the period 1960-70 are specified as "x", it is unclear whether "x" excludes migrants from prevjous periods, whether it is a yearly average flow or if it is the cumulative stock (excluding returns).

8. Although the data compiled by labor importing developed countries are more detailed, they cover the migrant female workers more consistently than they do migrant dependent women.
9. Even in the case of migration statistics of developed countries only rough estimates for illegal migrants are available, and such estimates are not sex-specific.

The general belief that women's participation in international migration is not significant can now be challenged. Women not only join the labor migration movements in significant numbers autonomously but also accompany their families, and join the labor force immediately upon arrival or later. For instance, between 1960 and 1974, 1,512,200 migrants arrived in the US from just three Latin American countries: Cuba, Mexico and the West Indies (U.N. Forthcoming).[7/] More than a half (52%) of these migrants were women. The labor force participation of the women over 16 years of age was 48%. To give yet another illustration based upon Table 3, twelve developing countries supplied 108,738 women to three developed countries in the periods specified.

7/ If illegal migration could have been included, this figure would have been much higher.

TABLE 3: Immigrants to Australia, Canada and USA from a Selected Number of Developing Countries.

Receiving Country	Sending Country	Total # of immigrants (000)	Sex ratio[a]	Total # of females (000)	Labor force participation[b]
Australia (1960-73)	Egypt	15.9	114	7.4	
	South Africa	20.3	110	9.9	
	India	24.6	107	11.8	
	Lebanon	31.2	155	14.5	
	Turkey	16.0	115	7.4	
To Canada (1970-74)					
	Hong Kong	38.7	114	18.1	
	India	38.1	141	15.8	
	Phillipines	27.7	77	15.6	
To USA (1960-74)					
	Cuba	349.8	87	187.0	48
	Mexico	731.9	101	365.8	34
	West Indies	430.5	80	239.1	68
	China	167.5	89	88.6	47
	Hong Kong	42.6	96	21.2	
	India	88.7	125	39.4	
	Japan	63.5	29	43.2	25
	Korea	121.4	54	78.8	
	Philippines	226.0	68	134.5	

[a] The sex ratios used in this section are obtained by calculating the number of males per 100 females.

[b] As percentage of women over 16 years of age.

Source: Based upon statistics included in U.N., Trends and Characteristics of International Migration Since 1950, Forthcoming.

The Handbook of International Data on Women (Boulding et al, 1976) offers female indices for long term immigration and emigration based upon the 1970 UN Demographic Yearbook. Long term migrants were defined as people leaving their countries for more than a year during the period 1962-1969. The index designed by Boulding et al showed the percentage of women among all migrants. Accordingly, maximum, minimum, and mean female participation by continent were calculated for 44 countries.

The regional indexes are given in Table 4 to illustrate the extent of female participation in international migration. For instance, in Africa, where female participation in international migration is a highly neglected phenomena in the literature, 34 per cent of all recorded immigrants in African countries were women. Additionally, 43 per cent of all emigrants leaving African countries for residence in another country for more than a year were women.

Although these data are used primarily as a way of illustrating country differences, the wide variations in the magnitude of international migration may further hinder the usefulness of the data. For instance, while in Trinidad 71 per cent of all migrants are women, they add to a total of 50 women. The absolute number of women involved in Cyprus is 9 while in the United States it is 231,825. The Federal Republic of Germany, on the other hand, has a relatively low female participation in immigration (36 per cent), but such a rate involves 229,326 women.

There are significant regional variations in women's participation in international migration. However, such variation is reduced when the recency of a given country's involvement in such migration is taken into

TABLE 4: Regional Comparisons of Index of Femaleness in Long Term Immigration and Emigration.

Region	Immigration Index				Emigration Index			
	High[a/]	Low	Mean	N	High	Low	Mean	N
Africa	.4679	.0058	.3463	7	.5152	.3091	.4381	7
North Africa & the Middle East	.5625	.3293	.4688	3	.5187	.3203	.4368	3
Asia	.5147	.0631	.3501	7	.8949	.1139	.4255	8
Latin America	.7156	.3010	.4774	8	.5902	.3546	.4604	4
Europe and North America	.5521	.1808	.4479	19	.6071	.2651	.4722	19

Source: Boulding et al, Handbook of International Data on Women, 1976, p. 170 and 172.

a/ The high and low values are the highest and lowest index scores within the region. Mean values show the average for the countries sampled in each region.

consideration. During the initial phases of labor movements from one country to another, female participation is often low. At subsequent phases, however, this participation increases due both to autonomous and to dependent female emigration.

A comparison of immigration and emigration data yields significant differences in the magnitude of international population movements as a whole (U.N. Forthcoming). The most important reason for the differences in these statistics is that immigration figures refer to the stock of migrants while emigration figures are expressed yearly. As an example of these differences, in total there are approximately 215,000 Turkish migrant women workers abroad, whereas in 1978 the total number of female emigrant workers were just a few hundred.

As far as the push factors are concened, there are no basic differences between the internal and international migration of women. Economic needs are the main cause of departure for external labor markets. The examination of the pull factors, however, will yield a critical difference: often, the migration of women, whether employed or dependent, is controlled by explicit policies of the host countries. Depending upon these policies, the extent and nature of the labor force participation of immigrant women differs, both cross-sectionally and historically.

In West Germany, as well as in the remaining labor importing countries of Western Europe, more detailed statistics (surveys and censuses) are available for migrant men and women of different nationalities. These statistics reveal population characteristics of the migrant groups (sex, age, marital status), as well as more detailed characteristics of the

workers (sex, age, length of residence, sector and type of employment, unemployment status, housing conditions, location of child, motivations, return patterns and intentions). Indeed, many of the survey statistics available for foreign workers in Europe incorporate a comparison of the two sexes. But the main focus is on the workers rather than on the population in general. For the purpose of this report, however, we have not gone into a survey of this literature. Nor have we compiled the various statistics on foreign populations available through the host countries. Similarly, we have not reviewed the existing immigration literature on the foreign populations in the U.S., Canada, Australia, and New Zealand. As these provide very extensive coverage of women migrants, further research utilizing the resources should be pursued. In what follows, we present an effort to illustrate some of the major inter- and intracontinental trends in international migration of women as a framework and starting point for further research.

Having reviewed some of the general trends and data problems a very brief description of the regional patterns of female international migration will be given.

Africa. In Africa, the greatest number of emigrants originate from North Africa and, particularly, from the Mahgreb countries--Algeria, Morocco, and Tunisia.[8/] An estimated 1.4 million people from these countries were living in Europe in 1974 (U.N., Forthcoming). The sex ratio for Mahgreb migrants was high in all age groups over 15, as is typical for Africa. In some of the receiving African countries, the effects of male dominated migration can already be seen. For instance, the recent flow of workers from Mahgreb countries to Libya raised the sex ratio in the latter country from 108 in 1964 to 114 in 1973.

8/ The sex ratios have been improving in Africa's emigration countries. For instance, Mauritius has had significant emigration during the 1960s and 1970s which was characterized by a high sex ratio during the initial phases but which proceeded into family migration in the latter half of the 1960s, thus improving its sex ratio. This indicates a high rate of female migration in the 1970s.

Intra-continental migration in Africa has greater significance than inter-continental migration. Because African states often divide tribes, much of the migration appears to be inter-regional and, sometimes, intra-tribal. Although the migratory movements follow rules set during the colonial times, some of the new states have set new rules restricting the type and duration of cross-boundary migrations for economic and political reasons. These seasonal and fluctuating movements are generally male dominated. The sex ratios for some of the African States show that Uganda, Ghana, South Africa, Southern Rhodesia and the United Republic of Tanzania receive the largest number of migrants. Malawi and Togo, where the sex ratio of the migrant stock favor women, are exceptions to the African pattern (Table 4a).

Because individual countries follow different practices vis-a-vis immigration, age specific sex ratios manifest visible differences. For instance, the "sex-age pyramid of foreign-born Africans in South Africa provides an example of labor migration in an extreme form with practically no accompanying family members... Since the custom is to recruit male workers for short-term contracts and then replace them with new migrants, the high percentage of male foreign-born in the 20-24 and 25-29 age old group are not surprising." (UN, Forthcoming; 220)

The percentage of immigrants under 15 years of age from other African countries was 16 in Ghana, 10.2 in Southern Rhodesia, 27.1 in Zambia and 1.2 in South Africa. These figures clearly show a family oriented migration to Zambia as opposed to a labor oriented migration to South Africa (Table 4b).

TABLE 4a: Male and Female Immigrants in Selected Countries around 1965

	in (000's) Males	in (000's) Females	Males per 100 Females
Africa (foreign born populations)			
Gambia (1963)	20.7	14.9	139
Ghana (1970)	210.8	139.0	152
Kenya (1969)	86.6	72.1	120
Liberia (1962)	19.6	12.0	163
Malawi (1966)	143.5	151.0	95
Senegal (1960)	99.0	70.7	140
South Africa (1970)	443.0	47.1	941
South Rhodesia (1969)	240.5	99.0	243
Swaziland (1966)	20.4	19.2	106
Togo (1970)	69.3	74.3	93
Uganda (1969)	462.1	289.6	160
U. K. Tanzania (1967)	244.5	207.2	118
Zambia (1969)	104.2	90.8	115
SUB-TOTAL	2,161.2	1,266.9	127
Immigrants per Country	166.2	97.4	

TABLE 4a (Continued)

	in (000's) Males	in (000's) Females	Males per 100 Females
Asia:			
Bahrain (1971)	26.5	11.3	234
Hong-Kong (1971)	874	842.1	104
Kuwait (1971)	244.4	146.9	166
Malaysia (1970)	422.4	342.0	123
Nepal (1971)	123.5	214.0	58
Singapore)1970)	276.0	252.1	109
Sri Lanka (1963)	152.5	95.7	159
Thailand (1970)	213.7	135.9	157
SUB-TOTAL	2,333.0	2.040.0	139
Immigrants per Country	291.6	255.6	

	in (000's) Males	in (000's) Females	Males per 100 Females	Females from other Latin American Countries
Latin America				
Argentina (1970)	1,151.8	1,041.5	111	127.5
Brazil (1970)	671.4	557.8	120	35.0
Venezuela (1971)	318.9	277.6	115	120.0
SUB-TOTAL	2,142.1	1,876.9	114	282.5
Immigrants per Country	714.0	625.6		94.1

TABLE 4b: Age and Sex-specific Long-term Emigration from Selected Countries

	male female males per 100 females	Ages 0-14	15-49	50+
Africa				
Angola (1972)	m	1,306	2,319	865
	f	920	2,415	745
	m/f	141	95	116
Botswana (1971)	m	300	6,290	1,160
	f	150	1,780	420
	m/f	200	353	276
Mauritius (1971)	m	273	719	86
	f	178	878	127
	m/f	153	81	67
South Africa (1970)	m	1,429	2,627	458
	f	1,256	2,402	503
	m/f	113	109	91
South Rhodesia (1970)	m	658	1,724	259
	f	652	1,769	285
	m/f	100	97	90
Total Females (14,480)		3,156	9,244	2,080
Latin America				
Costa Rica (1971)	m	5,534	67,087	5,120
	f	4,306	24,093	6,128
	m/f	128	278	132
Trinidad and Tabago (1970)	m	1,050	1,990	220
	f	1,030	2,230	260
	m/f	101	89	84
Total Females (38,047)		5,336	26,323	6,388

Source: (Compiled from UN (n.d.) Emigration Statistics)
a) Only countries indicating long-term emigrants are chosen
b) Developed countries have been excluded

On the whole, emigration from Africa is male dominated. However, sex ratios are lower among North African migrants in European countries and the rate of female labor force participation is highest among them. There is a concentration of migration in France with migrant women occupying the low skilled factory and service jobs. Informal sector domestic employment is also widespread. Few African women migrate to Libya or to other oil producing Middle East countries, either as workers or as dependents. Migration to other African countries is also restricted, both in volume and in nature: when women migrate, it is often as dependents rather than as workers.

Latin America. Five types of international migration have been observed in Latin America (Breton, 1976). First, there are frontier workers who are fully integrated into the labor market of a foreign country but still live at home. Second, there are seasonal agricultural workers migrating for several months at a time--often irregularly, depending upon labor needs. Third, there are short-term temporary migrants who leave their homes for several months each year. Fourth, there are long-term temporary workers who usually work in a country for several years under special bilateral agreements and, fifth, there are long-term or permanent workers who settle with their families in a country while maintaining their own nationality. Over all, the migration of unskilled workers leaving one rural area for another predominates.

Intra- and intercontinental migration in South America, which has been small in magnitude compared to overseas migration, has increased

since 1950 as a result of population growth, widening disparities in economic development and/or improved communications. "In 1975, the total number of intracontinental migrants and their families settled or working abroad is thought to have been of the order of 5 million, of whom rather more than 3 million were migrant workers properly speaking--of both sexes and all ages--around 400,000 were frontier workers, and over 1,500,000 were members of their families." (Breton, 1976:340).

Focusing on the total international migrant population in Latin America, it is observed that they are predominantly in the 30-40 age group and they are older than both the internal migrants on the continent and the international migrants in Europe. Among the international migrants, 55 per cent are men. Additionally, there were country differences in the sex ratios favoring, for instance, females in Venezuela. "There is often a family marked propensity to emigrate among the unmarried, but in the high emigration countries and those where the phenomenon assumes the proportion of agricultural settlement in the true sense the great majority of migrants are married." (Breton, 1976:344). As expected, the education and training of international migrants are lower than the national averages of the host country, but their labor force participation is significantly higher than that of the natives.

Many of the Latin American countries, and particularly Argentina and Brazil, received large numbers of migrants of European origin (Table 4a);

These migrants differ from migrants from other Latin American countries in many respects, including their sex composition (U.N., Forthcoming). Although such comparisons will not be detailed here, we should point out that there are significant country differences. In the 1970s Argentine males predominated among migrants from other Latin American countries and females predominated among recent Spanish immigrants. The reverse holds for Venezuela for the same period. Again, these could be characteristic of certain periods and not necessarily of consistent trends.

Another significant international migration pattern of Latin America is migration to the USA. This pattern has changed its character over the years from a male dominated movement to a female dominated one.

The participation of Latin American women in all types of international migration is a significant and widespread phenomenon, especially when compared to the behavior of females in the Middle East and Africa. In addition, the labor force participation of Latin American women in other countries is also high. The jobs held by these women vary with the type of migration and with the type of structure of the host economy.

Asia. International migration which originates from Asia also has a long tradition. Countries such as India and Pakistan have been continuous sources of migrants for many decades. Studies reveal little about the Asian migrant women, their numbers, characteristics, and problems. It seems, however, that a large bulk of the Asian emigrant women leaving their countries for Europe, Great Britain, the USA, and Canada become permanent settlers in these countries (Table 3).

Added to these traditional migrant groups is a significant number of women from Asian countries affected by wars. Both of these two broad categories of women have been left out of this paper, since a satisfactory coverage of their problems would require intensive research in different directions than those of this report.

Briefly, the predominance of males is also observed among Asian emigrants to other countries, especially among the migrants from India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Hong Kong, and Sri Lanka. The reverse is true for recent migrants from Malaysia. However, even among the male dominated movements, the female ratio has been increasing. The sex ratios of immigrants in Southeast Asia, for instance, have improved, particularly after the limitations these countries have put on immigration. Many Asian nations accommodate large numbers of female migrants from other countries. For instance, in the 1960s, there were a total of 2,040,000 female immigrants in seven Asian countries, an average of 251,600 in each of them (Table 4a). The sex ratios were high, with the exception of Nepal. The index of femaleness in long-term emigration also showed a far greater variation in Asia than in other continents (see Table 4).

However, research which goes beyond simple ratio statistics is particularly needed for Asia, as the intensity of inter- and intra-continental migration of many Asian countries has already reached significant proportions and is likely to gain further momentum as political pressures increase.

Middle East. Recent international migration trends within the Middle East are due largely to the 1973-74 oil price increase and the concomitant increase in the demand for labor within the oil rich countries of the region (Choucri, 1977). In six oil producing countries in 1975, there were a total of 1,236,800 migrant workers from Arab countries, 291,200 from Asia, and 86,900 from Iran, Turkey and Africa. Including the Europeans (2 per cent of all migrant workers), these oil producing countries employed over 1.6 million workers from other countries. "In 1975, there were over two-and-a-half million Arab workers and their dependents living in Arab States... In early 1975... there were 1,570,000 Arab workers living abroad... and over 2,500,000 migrants for employment in the Arab Near East." (Birks and Sinclair, 1979:1).

Migration to the oil producing countries is predominantly male oriented. The total sex-ratios of migrants to Bahrain and Kuwait is 234 and 166 males per 100 females, respectively. An extremely large sex ratio is found for Iranians (978) in Kuwait, which indicates that almost no Iranian women migrated to this country. Also apparent is that few females from Oman have moved to the nearby Gulf States, as indicated by the high female sex ratios. (See Table 5). Birks and Sinclair (1977b) give several reasons for the low number of females migrating to these countries from Oman. First, housing is difficult to obtain for families in oil producing regions and, when found, is expensive.

Table 5 : Sex-Specific Migration to Two Oil Producing Countries

Receiving Country	Sending Country	Number of Male Migrants (in 000's)	Number of Female Migrants (in 000's)	Males per 100 Females
Bahrain	India	4,0	2.7	150
	Iran	3.5	1.6	217
	Oman	3.5	1.3	733
	Pakistan	3.3	2.1	162
	Total	26.5	11.3	234
Kuwait	Egypt	17.0	13.0	133
	India	10.5	6.8	157
	Iran	35.5	3.6	978
	Iraq	23.6	15.5	152
	Jordan	80.0	67.8	118
	Lebanon	14.0	11.2	126
	Oman	12.4	2.2	555
	Pakistan	5.4	5.3	179
	Syria	17.2	10.0	121
	Total	277.0	147.0	166

Source: U.N. Trends and Characteristics of International Migration Since 1950, forthcoming. P. 239.

Second, women generally do not migrate to areas which are close in proximity while males more often commute to work on a weekly or short-term basis.

While the sex ratios for Jordan, Lebanon and Egypt indicate male dominated migration trends, they are far more equitable than other Arab countries. In fact, according to a USAID report (1977) in 1975 there were as many Palestinian and Jordanian females as males in Kuwait. This is due to the fact that migrants from Jordan and Lebanon are more apt to be permanent migrants and, therefore, bring their wives and children with them (Clarke, 1977). Family movement to Kuwait also occurs among Egyptians, but it is more common among professional and highly skilled migrants than among lower skilled migrants who are more likely to migrate alone (Birks and Sinclair, 1978a).

Migrants from Jordan, Lebanon and Egypt are usually preferred because they are generally better educated, highly trained and speak Arabic (Birks and Sinclair, 1977a). However, the oil-rich countries are increasingly becoming concerned about the high percentage of non-nationals within their borders and, therefore, are trying to discourage permanent migration as well as the migration of dependent family members (Clarke, 1977). For this reason, more Asians are being recruited to work temporarily in the Gulf States.

Between 1971 and 1977, the number of workers from Asia increased by 276 per cent. In this latter year, two-thirds of all foreign

workers in Bahrain were from Asian countries--particularly from India and Pakistan.

Saudi Arabia has increasingly relied on countries such as Japan to send skilled labor for short periods of time in an attempt to discourage migrants from remaining permanently. In the United Arab Emirates in 1976, Asians accounted for 69 per cent of the expatriate work force--again, mostly from India and Pakistan, but some from other Asian countries as well. The number of Asian workers also increased substiantially in Kuwait in recent years, albeit, not nearly to the degree found in either the United Arab Emirates or Bahrain.

There is also heavy migration among North African Arabs to Arab countries other than the Gulf States. For example, Egyptians are increasingly migrating to Jordan (approximately 6,000 were expatriates in 1977) to replace the Jordanian work force who have migrated to Saudi Arabia and the Gulf States. Interestingly, the sex ratio among Egyptians migrating to Jordan is 100. Apparently, Egyptian women are more likely to find employment in Jordan than elsewhere, which is an incentive for them to migrate (Birks and Sinclair, 1978a). There is a still larger trend of migrants leaving Egypt for the Sudan. Again, the sex ratio is equitable (101.4). Birks and Sinclair (1978a) state that the low cost of travel is an incentive for professional and skilled workers to bring their wives and families with them, even though employment opportunities for women are low in this country. Most Egyptians,

however, migrate temporarily to Libya (between 275,000 and 380,000). There is no information regarding the extent to which these migrants are male. The movement from Tunisia to Libya is also male dominated, although smaller in scale.

There is also migration from the Middle Eastern countries to other regions, particularly to Europe. Among the various Middle Eastern countries, Turkey has exported greater amounts of labor to Western Europe than others. Outmigration from this country started in the early 1960s, reached its peak in 1972-73 and decreased significantly after the so-called energy crisis of November, 1974. Female participation in Turkish international migration is a relatively recent phenomenon as compared to that of males. Because the immigration of dependent family members was discouraged for much of the period between 1960 and 1979, the labor force participation rate of Turkish women abroad has been very high. By the time the migratory stock abroad reached its peak in the early 1970s, almost a quarter of all Turkish workers were women. Focusing on the yearly inflow the sex ratio has changed sporadically from as low as 6.6 to as high as 39.5 (See Table 6). But information in the stock about that percentage of women in the labor force increased steadily from 6.8 per cent in 1960 to 26 per cent in 1975 (Abadan-Unat, 1977). In addition to the working women abroad, the numbers of dependent wives also increased, and the great majority of the workers are now accompanied by their wives, whether or not they work. In September 1977, there were 1,118,000 Turks in West Germany of whom 443,100 were females. Although net immigration of the Turks to this country has been negative since the end of 1974, that of females has been positive due to family reunions. (Statistiches Bundesamt, Statistiches Jahrbuch 1978, Wiesbaden, 1978). For instance, in 1976 the net immigration of Turkish men to West Germany was -25,844 and of women +765.

Table 6: Composition of Turkish Migration Stream by Year and Sex

Year	Number of Migrants	Percent Migrants who are male	Percent Migrants who are female
1966	34,410	76.9	23.1
1967	8,947	60.5	39.5
1968	43,097	73.8	16.2
1969	103,005	80.0	20.0
1970	128,395	84.0	16.0
1971	87,563	83.9	16.1
1972	84,589	78.1	21.9
1973	134,934	80.1	20.2
1974	19,073	93.4	6.6
1975 (half year)	1,786	84.4	11.6

Source: Migration News, no. 4, 1976.

International migrant women, when compared to all other categories of migrant women, are more visible-- economically, socially, and politically. Their problems can also be more clearly identified. However, there are significant differences between regions in this regard. The visibility of migrant women from the Middle East and Northern Africa in the Western European countries has been amply documented. Such is also true for the inter-continental movements of the Asian and Latin American women. Yet, as we have pointed out, women's share in intra-continental migration is steadily increasing. Whether such a trend in international migration makes the immigrants less visible is yet to be studied together with its implications. However, the greater visibility of international migrants should make this group particularly attractive for policy makers.

Because there are many different types of international migration (seasonal, fluctuating, permanent, temporary, inter- and intracontinental) it is difficult to make generalizations concerning the socio-economic characteristics of the female migrants. A focus on the migrant stock in Europe from the Middle East, North Africa, and Asia shows a heavier concentration in the 20-30 year age group. The age selectivity of the host labor markets is also reflected in some of the small scale studies of returnees. In this type of migration is predominantly a labor migration, men and women are allowed to enter the host countries at their early working ages and are pushed out of the market before they become 40. For instance, the examination of the age pyramid for Turkish workers abroad shows that less than 5% of the immigrants are over 45 years of age. The dependent population below

15 is also small in comparison with the working age group. The age structure of the returnees as compared with the stock reveals an older population.

The limited evidence on international migration yields stronger selectivity to be at play. For instance, international migrants in Europe, as compared with internal migrants of a given country, are younger, more educated, more skilled, with greater working experience, with greater exposure to urbanization (i.e. originating to a lesser degree from rural areas). The selectivity is particularly strong for women, not so much when compared to migrant men but , especially, when compared to the overall characteristics of native women (Kudat, et al, 1976).

The general observation that migrant women are greater participants of the labor force than native women also needs further qualification in the case of international migration to Western Europe or other developed areas of the World where female participation in the labor force is high. For instance, what distinguishes migrant women from native women in Europe is not so much their rate of economic participation (which is lower in the former case for some ethnic groups) but the type of participation. In both cases, excluding illegal migration, labor force participation is mainly in the formal sector. But migrant women go directly into the lowest paying, lowest skill industrial and service jobs, with little or no previous training and with little on-the-job training opportunities. Those illegal migrants and wives are also taking marginal domestic employment. Studies based upon the European experience also show women

to be the first targets for dismissals in economic crises. Moreover, cultural and language barriers, as well as their lack of previous work and unionization experience, make it harder for women in international markets to join labor struggles or to obtain unemployment benefits even when they are legally allowed.

The discussions presented on the effects of male migration on women left behind are largely applicable to the women left behind by international migrants. Although the remittances may be greater, it is unclear whether they are able to receive the savings directly. The effects of greater distance and longer periods of separation on the regularity of remittances are also unknown

Nevertheless, the migration of women across national boundaries is thus becoming a widespread phenomenon even in continents where the rate of female participation is low. The available information also indicates the increasing labor force participation of international migrant women. However, there is very little information on the living and working patterns of these women, and little comparative evidence showing the effects of the immigration and emigration patterns of these countries. Since the magnitude of international population movements (which primarily involves low skilled labor) is likely to increase and since problems of integration for migrant women are reported to be numerous, research and policy which focuses on international migrants is long overdue. Such research should consider the implications for development of the return migration of men, and, especially, of women. These women contribute to their countries economies through their

remittances as men do. They also help in the diffusion of new technology and other innovations. However, women differ in a critical dimension from men; the rate of return migration among women is lower and consequently, many of the effects of international migration that emerge as a result of returnees to either the country of origin or, more importantly, to the community of origin, are less likely to be manifested differently for women than for men.

IV. WHO ARE THEY?: CHARACTERISTICS OF WOMEN MIGRANTS

Age

A universal feature of migration is that it varies with age and, particularly in the case of women, with stages in the life cycle. A review of country-specific studies enables us to identify three age groups at which mobility among women appears to be the highest: the adolescent, the early twenties and the over 50+ age groups. These differ somewhat from the general age patterns of male migrants; for women, the age patterns also vary according to destination.

It is important to note that the age at which women migrate and the age distribution of the stock of migrants in any given area are two different concepts, but available data are not detailed enough to allow us to distinguish between the two. Generally, the older a migration process, the more similar is the age distribution of migrants and native residents. When a migration stream is new, the age composition of the migrant stock is skewed; as more people stay in the receiving areas the distribution becomes more even.

Those migrating to urban areas, particularly to capital cities, are predominantly women in their late teens and early twenties, which may reflect the fact that young (single) girls can more easily secure employment--as domestic laborers--than can young men of the same age. This pattern is often thought of as the Latin American experience, but that is only because there is more data available for that region. As

countries in other regions begin to focus on the migration issue, it is highly probable that similar patterns will emerge.

The overriding tendency for female migrants to be younger than male migrants is borne out by studies in Colombia, Jamaica, El Salvador, Brasil, Bangladesh, and Thailand. For instance, in Colombia in 1970, 56 per cent of all migrants to the capital, Bogota, were women, and young women outnumbered men in the 10-19 age group by a ratio of ten to six. This age group accounts for 38.4 per cent of all females in migration during 1970-75 (Lubell and McCallum, 1978). In fact, women predominated in all migrant age cohorts except the 30 to 39 age group, and 54 per cent of all migrants to other urban areas were women. In movements to rural areas, by contrast, men predominated in all age groups, without exception (Martine, 1975; Lewin and Romani, 1977). In rural Mexico, women typically leave for the city between the ages of 15 and 19 (Weist, 1973). In Chile, 50 per cent of the women coming into Santiago were between the ages of 14 and 25; among these 70 per cent arrived on their own (i.e., were not dependents) (Elton, 1974). In the capital cities of Jamaica and El Salvador, the mean age of women migrants is between 15 and 19; for men, it is 20 and 24. A study in Brazil that traced migration streams to six major cities (metropolitan areas) showed that women migrants in Sao Paulo were typically three years younger (20.3) than the men (23.3).

Most female migrants to urban Bangladesh are between the ages of 15 and 19, and in that age range they outnumber the male migrants. The female rate continues to be high for ages 20-24. At most other ages, the number of male migrants is greater (Ruzika and Chowdhury, 1978).

Perhaps a better way of demonstrating the significance of the effect of the youthfulness of a migrant population upon the age structure of an area is to examine the potentially active age cohorts. Lubell and McCallum (1978) in comparing the age distribution of native and migrant males and females in Bogota, Colombia, point out that in the potentially active 15-29 age group, 40 percent are migrant women and only 20 percent are native resident women. There are also twice as many migrant women than native women in the 30-44 age group.

Goldstein's analysis of the Thai data (1973) allows for further specification regarding the age selectivity factor in relation to different types of mobility experienced by men and women. In general, Thai women migrate at an older age than do Latin American and Bangladesh women--that is, in their mid- and late twenties. In some instances, women migrants are older than their male counterparts. It is not possible to ascertain whether this later age reflects migration taking place with families instead of migration by individuals.

Among rural-urban migrants in Thailand the highest percentage of women are in the 20-24 age group, the next highest are 25-34, and after that the number of female migrants drops drastically until older ages. The same pattern is observed for men.

Peak migration from rural areas into the capital city area, Bangkok, for men is between the ages of 20 and 34. It is highest for women in the 15-24 age group (Goldstein, 1973). A breakdown by marital status of female migrants into Bangkok shows that 44 percent are single, 52 percent are married, and 8 percent are widowed or divorced (Piampiti, n.d.).

However, women who migrate from rural areas into other urban provinces are usually older, and there the peak migration age is 20-24.

With respect to inter-urban mobility, the levels of female mobility are 31 percent for ages under 15 and 56 percent for ages 20-24, declining to 25 percent among those 45 and over (Goldstein, 1973). Inter-urban migration occurs most frequently for Bangkok women at ages 25-34; for women in other urban areas, the peak is reached earlier, at ages 20-24. Goldstein interprets such movements as reflecting change in residence at marriage. Women in Bangkok tend to marry at a later age than women in other urban locations, which would explain the differentials in the peak ages (Goldstein, 1973).

There is increasing evidence that women migrate at both extremes of the age hierarchy. In some countries they are more numerous than men in both the youngest and the oldest cohorts; in some they outnumber men in the oldest cohorts only. The female/male difference is particularly accentuated in the 50 and over cohorts. To migrate at this age is a distinctive female characteristic; it is particularly striking in moves to capital city areas (Colombia, Mexico, Nigeria, Thailand).

In contrast to the men migrating to Ibadan, most women migrating on their own are nearing 50, are widowed or divorced, and have functioned as heads of household (Sudarkasa, 1977). Migration rates clearly increase among rural women moving to Bangkok at the upper end of the age hierarchy, i.e., for women aged 65 and over. The same is not true

for men. Older women (65+) also display high rates (25%) of intra-urban mobility. The patterns reflect movements associated with widowhood: women leave their homes to live with their children. Female migrants to Bogota outnumber males in all age groups except the 30-39 cohort; but the sex differential is particularly salient in the 50 and over age groups. These differentials in the older age groups are interesting. It has been speculated that they are due to mortality differentials by sex in areas of origin and that women, particularly after they are widowed, join family members who had previously migrated or seek employment in domestic service when their children become independent (Martine, 1975b).

Marital Status

The most common practice in the migration literature has been to treat the status of female migrants as "accompanying wives"--assuming that women were involved in family migration only--and/or to emphasize the temporary migration of young, single, economically active women who show high participation in urban domestic service occupations. The autonomous migration of women has been largely ignored. In order to research the extent of its magnitude, information sources are needed that identify women migrants by age, marital status, and fertility both in their current place of residence and at the time they migrate. Such data would yield insight into:

a) the extent of autonomous female migration; and,

b) the influence that marital status per se may have either in inducing or deterring migration, depending on the stage of life cycle involved.

On the basis of the limited information that is available, however, we can make some statements about the marital and household status of women migrants:

1) Men and women who migrate to urban areas are predominantly young and single. The larger the city of destination, the greater the tendency for women migrants to be single. Among those who move to rural areas, the men are again usually single, but the women are more likely to move in this direction when accompanying their spouses (Martine, 1975b).

2) Recent findings on the participation of women aged 50 and over in the migration process are significant. Widowed women in particular surface as highly mobile in both rural-urban and inter-urban migration. The same is probably true of divorced women, who may in fact migrate at an earlier age than widows. Unfortunately, census categories often combine widows and divorced and separated women into one category; because the widowed tend to be more numerous in absolute numbers than the divorced (or separated), the tendency is to single out the group's behavior pattern as typical of widows only. At the same time, in countries where data is disaggregated by marital status there are very high percentages of divorced women among migrants. This may only be partly due to higher incidence of divorce in cities, but it also reflects the predominance of divorced women in internal migration (Youssef, 1973).

3) Information is not widely available on the distribution by sex and migration status of heads of household.[9/] Some of the data suggests that female headship, whatever the reason for it, is a condition sufficient to bring about the migration of women. There is a strong tendency for female heads of household--especially those in older age cohorts--to be associated with migration to urban areas in Mexico (Weist, 1973), Thailand (Goldstein, 1973), and Ghana (Sudarkasa, 1977). Yet there are other indications in the younger age cohorts that single women (mothers) who head households may also play a vital role in the rural-urban migratory process. There is specific reference to the exit of single rural women because of pregnancy (Castro et al, 1978).

4) Studies among young single female migrants in the city indicate that the majority do not intend to return to the point of origin (Castro et al, 1978). This is reflected in several instances in the low representation of single women in return-migration.

5) Capital city areas are particularly attractive to women (and men) who do not have family ties--the single, the widowed, the divorced, and the separated --although by far the largest number of migrants are single.[10/] A study in Bangkok shows that 44 per cent of all women migrants were single, eight per cent were divorced and widowed. The young unmarried come to the city for socioeconomic reasons and rely on family and friends who already live in the city (Piampiti, n.d.). In Kingston, Jamaica, the majority of women migrants are single. They have come to the capital alone

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9/ This would have enabled us to estimate the magnitude of female heads of household as participants in the migratory flow.

10/ Both the Latin American and the Thai patterns indicate that migrants into capital city areas have higher proportions of unmarried (single, separated, or widowed) men and women than does the resident population of either the capital city or other urban areas (Martine, 1975; Goldstein, 1974).

and depend on the income they earn for subsistence. They remain single, even after giving birth to several children (Standing, 1978d).

Of the women aged 14 and over who go to Santiago, 49 per cent are by themselves; of those who go to Lima, 62 per cent are alone. Most (70 per cent) are single and, in each city, are dependent upon what they earn for survival (Elizaga, 1972). The smaller the place of origin, the greater the probability that single women migrate to the capital by themselves. Among migrants coming from areas with less than 5,000 inhabitants, 59 per cent in the case of Santiago and 62 per cent in the case of Lima had come on their own (Elton, 1974).

Education

> "It is frequently assumed that higher education per se may serve as a stimulus to migration, both through the greater perception of new vistas as a result of more education and because of the need to move to a different location where special skills resulting from more education can be better utilized." (Goldstein, 1973).

The data available do not support the assumption that level of migration is directly related to level of education insofar as women are concerned. Rather, they point to a low level of selectivity, probably because most migrants from rural areas, particularly those who are women, have not had much education.

Two types of data sets are available, although each is limited in its country coverage. There is some information on the educational

status of women migrants and how it compares to male migrants and to native women in the receiving area. The general picture that emerges from these comparisons is that the average education of migrants is low and that for women migrants it is lower than for male migrants. While the difference between the education of recent migrant males and that of native urban resident males is slight, discrepancy between the two corresponding groups of women is considerable. Specific country studies in Chile (Bustamante, 1978), India (Zachariah, n.d.), Brazil (Castro et al, 1978), Indonesia (Sethuraman, 1976), and Turkey (Kudat, et al, 1976) confirm the educationally disadvantaged position of the female migrant in relation to her male counterpart. Among lifetime migrants in India, 58 per cent of the women, as compared to 35 per cent of the men, are illiterate. Among those who are educated, male migrants have received significantly more education than women migrants.

Singh (1978a:352) reports for India that:

> "...national level data regarding educational levels and work force participation rates of migrants reveal that the majority of female workers are illiterate and that there are practically no jobs pursued by women at all between those which require no education and those which require high levels of education. Significantly, the illiterate, unskilled migrant women of India seem to have greater ease in finding employment than those with some education."

Singh further points out the influence of education on work among poor Indian migrants by comparing educational levels of workers and non-

workers. Among males, literacy rates are similar for workers and non-workers (71 per cent). But among women, workers had lower literacy levels (46.5 per cent) than nonworkers (65.2 per cent). The percentage of male migrants who had acquired literacy skills outside of the formal educational system was higher for both workers and nonworkers (25 per cent and 34 per cent, respectively) than it was for both categories of women. For example, only 7.9 per cent of working women had become literate through non-formal training, as compared to 28.4 per cent of nonworking women. The data consistently show that it is the women with the least amount of education who are most likely to work (Singh, 1978a). The explanation for this pattern is probably not that these women are more likely to find work, but rather that they are willing to take any work that is available.

In Lebanon, data on the educational level of migrants coming into Beirut and its suburbs showed significant discrepancies between the sexes. In 1971 among migrants aged 15-44, 20 per cent of the men and 47 per cent of the women had not attended school (Tabarrah, 1976). In a study conducted in Jakarta in the early 1970s, it was noted that 75 per cent of the migrants had less than six years of schooling, the rest were illiterate. Women migrants had far lower educational levels than men, but this did not affect their employability or their perception of the beneficial aspects of migration. As was found in India, the lower educational level of migrants in Jakarta, the higher the probability of their working, and the more positive the feeling that they were better off than before (Sethuraman, 1976).

The literature also points out the discrepancy in educational standards between migrant women and native women in the urban receiving area. Again, it is the migrant women who have an educational disadvantage. By contrast, the comparison between educational levels of male migrants and those of males who are urban residents shows only slight differences or none at all.

In Brazil sex differences in education are not marked among urban residents; in fact, in some areas, education levels for women are distinctly higher than those of men. Among the low-income urban classes, women seem to have an educational advantage with respect to exposure to and/or completion of primary and secondary schooling (Castro et al, 1978). A comparison of educational levels of migrants and those of the urban resident population in various metropolitan regions of Brazil showed male migrants to be at a slight disadvantage to male residents only in Sao Paulo, whereas the discrepancy between the two groups of women was considerable (Castro et al, 1978; Elton, 1974).

In two villages in Ecuador, in which migration was found to be positively related to education, the educational level of migrant males and urban males was found to be roughly similar. Migrant women, however, had received significantly less education than urban women in the receiving area (Scrimshaw, n.d.). A comparison of the level of schooling of migrant and resident women aged 25-35 in Kingston, showed that 73 per cent of the migrant women, but only 50 per cent of the nonmigrant women, had received only one to three years of education. Fifty per cent of the urban resident women and 27 per cent of the migrants had had nine or more years of

schooling (Standing, 1978d). In Beirut, the illiteracy rate of women migrants aged 15-44 was 47 per cent as compared to 25 per cent among the women urban residents (Tabarrah, 1976).

In her analysis of Chilean data, Herold (1978) distinguishes between types of migrants and specific areas of urban destination and challenges the assumption that female migration in Latin America is characterized by low-status women moving to major cities where they become prime examples of social and economic marginality. Her data indicate that this pattern applies only to migration to the capital and to some other cities; it is not characteristic of migration to all urban areas, particularly in more recent years. When educational levels are controlled for rates, there is a positive association between level of education and female rates of migration for all recent migrant types to urban destinations. In the aggregate, total recent migrants in Santiago show lower educational levels than the native population. The differential is reversed for women migrants in other urban areas, however, with total recent migrants having clearly higher educational levels than the resident population (Herold, 1978).

Destination

Ravenstein's principle that women who migrate usually do so over short distances is confirmed in some cases. It is not clear, however, what the influence of marital condition (rather than sex) is in explaining the choice of destination since there is not sufficient data on marital

status. The data that is available in general shows that married migrants of either sex travel shorter distances than those who are unmarried (Castro et al, 1978).

Some findings do also indicate that men migrate further than women. Sudarkasa, (1977) found this to be true in Western Africa. In Argentina, it has been found that women typically travel shorter distances on their first move: whereas only 17 per cent of male migrants in a recent study travelled to areas less than 100 km. away, 57 per cent of the women did so (Connell et al, 1976). Women in Brazil predominated in intrastate migration; with respect to interstate migration, women outnumbered men in moves to urban areas (Castro et al, 1978). In India, women tend to migrate to areas close to their point of origin; male migrants predominate in long-distance moves (Zachariah, n.d.). In Colombia women outnumber men in short-distance moves and in long-distance moves from rural areas, while men outnumber women in distant moves from urban areas (Perez, 1976).

A recent study in Manila indicates a changing trend. Whereas in the 1960s there were few sex differences among Philippine migrants in terms of distance travelled (Wery, 1974), a decade later, women in Manila dominate in migratory flows involving greater distances (Smith, 1978).

The motivation for moving far away is based on both social and economic reasons. Whereas for men migrants a specific occupation at destination is more important than the size of the destination itself, for women migrants the size of destination is more critical because of the variety of possible occupations available. Pernia (nd.) reports for the Philippines that place of destination had no significant effect

on men's decision to migrate. For single women and those who were heads of household, the size of place of destination was found to be significant at the .01 level.

Mexican women (and men) tend to migrate to metropolitan areas and larger cities and avoid the smaller ones (Cornelius, 1975). Chilean women are more prone to migrate to large urban centers (Valparaiso and Santiago); whereas more men migrants go to the far removed provinces such as Tarapaca and Magallanes (Bustamente, 1978).

Herold (1979) argues that it is women among the poor who are first movers that are attracted to the capital city areas. She hypothesizes that:

> "...these women would have less knowledge about alternative destinations and must continue to rely on the traditional information network which is transmitted primarily through kin presently residing in Santiago or that the capital continues to have the best job market for these women."

However, if one takes the individual's total history of migration, a more complex picture evolves and one which suggests that women may be involved considerably more than men in a step-wise migration process, even over generations. This is strongly suggested by findings from El Salvador, Mexico, Ecuador, Chile, and Brazil.[11] Migration histories of women migrants

11/ Studies of Latin American migration show a step-wise migration in which many migrants first locate in an intermediate location. Weist (1973) maintains that the typical migration pattern in Mexico is "from farm or hamlet to town, and from town to city (principally Mexico City)..." (p. 182). Others found that males were more likely to migrate in a step-wise pattern than were females. Scrimshaw (n.d.) found that, while 46 per cent of male migrants lived in a town or city other than place of origin prior to moving to Quayaquil, Ecuador, this was true for only 32 per cent of the women who moved there. Similarly, Elton (1974) found that, of the migrants to San Salvador, 70 per cent of the females moved directly to the city while less than 63 per cent of the males did so. She also found that 11 per cent of the male migrants in San Salvador had previously migrated to places that were smaller than their hometowns, but only 5 per cent of the female migrants did so. Again, Elton pointed to economic opportunities as the motivating force behind this migration pattern.

to San Salvador and Santiago indicate that rural women move to small towns in their first move, and in the following generation move to the capital areas. In each country considerably fewer females than males migrated directly to San Salvador and Santiago from rural areas. In San Salvador as many as 55 per cent of the migrant women, as compared to only 11 per cent of the migrant men, had lived in places smaller than their places of birth before moving to the capital. This is despite the fact that there is only a slight difference between the sexes with respect to their birthplace (Elton, 1974). There is an important exception, however. The younger the rural migrant, the greater the chances that she will come directly into the capital city area. In Santiago, for example, among migrant women who fall within the mode age group (15-19) the percentage who came to the capital city area directly from a rural area is higher (18 per cent) than the corresponding percentage among the male migrants (11 per cent) who fell within the mode age group which for men is the 20-24 age group. Step migration is less frequent in Colombia. Only 35 per cent of migrants in Bogota had moved to some other place prior to coming to the capital city; 51 per cent had come directly. The data does not, however, point out the sex differences involved (Lubell, McCallum, 1978).

In India, it appears that women migrants outnumber the men in small cities and villages; males predominate in migratory movements which involve long distances. Again, it is not clear to what extent this pattern is determined by actual consideration of the distance factor (i.e., do women select small towns/villages because these are less distant from

their place of origin?) or whether it is influenced by family migration (i.e., marriage migration is more common in villages and small towns) (Zachariah, n.d.)

Each of the above factors, whether they relate to the poverty of the area of origin, to the perceived availability of opportunities in areas of destination, or to the characteristics of migrants themselves, are important to understanding migration patterns, most particularly the ways in which female migrants differ from male migrants. Such considerations are valid not only for the autonomous movements of single, widowed, divorced, and separated women who are heads of household, but also for the women who migrate with or follow after their husbands.

It is conceivable that all "push" factors and many "pull" factors apply equally to different types of migration--be they international, inter-regional, or intra/inter-urban--and that it may not be necessary to identify different explanatory factors for each type of migration.

V. WHY DO WOMEN MIGRATE?: FACTORS EXPLAINING THE MIGRATION OF WOMEN

Until very recently, marriage was the main factor singled out to explain the migration of women. Women in the Third World migrated with their spouses for, it was assumed, the same reason as their husbands. If a woman migrated alone, it was only to follow or to find a husband (Elton, 1974; Thadani and Todaro, 1978). There was no room in the migration literature for the autonomous migration of women for motives other than mating, despite increasing common knowledge to the contrary.

This largely untested attribution of "marriage only" motives to the migration of women is in part due to the invisibility of (or lack

of data on) women as economic producers and an overemphasis on their roles as reproducers and homemakers. It naturally led scholars and development experts to overlook any socioeconomic significance of female migration and, thus, to dismiss the importance of analyzing sex difference in motives and determinants of migratory patterns. For instance, in the case of India, A. Singh (1978_a) argues that the well-known fact that the volume of female rural migration far surpassed that of male migration has been dismissed as a reflection of the custom of marrying outside a woman's village of origin.

It is true that in developing countries many women have migrated and still do migrate, at least ostensibly, for marriage purposes. Evoking marriage, however, as the factor accounting for the moves of such large numbers of people can only obscure our understanding of the economic and social factors that affect women and men migrants differently. More importantly perhaps, it yields no information useful for policy or program formulation.

Women themselves may report that they migrate for marriage reasons only because it is one of the few culturally sanctioned explanations or rationalizations for their autonomous migration. More generally, women seem to underreport the economic reasons for their moves. Analyzing migratory movements in Subsahara Africa from rural areas to primate cities, K. Little (1973) observes that, while both men and women move to improve their socioeconomic status, women express this motivation in a different, more personal language which reveals a sex difference in <u>attitude</u> only. In her sample of women migrants to

Gaborne, Botswana, Bryant (1977) observes that, in one interview, 41 per cent of the women said they had come to Gaborne to find a job, while 50 per cent said they had come to join a relative. Yet six months later, 51 per cent said they had come because of a job, and only 37 per cent said they came to join a relative. Bryant attributes these differences to the interview situation that in the first case led women to feel social pressures and thus give socially sanctioned responses. (They were interviewed by men and in front of the whole household.)

Ideal data to explain the migration of women would compare characteristics of woman migrants with those of women staying in the place of origin and/or native women in the place of destination as well as with those of male migrants. Equally important, these comparisons should be based on a valid assessment of women's (and men's) actual economic behavior. Currently, sex differences in, for instance, the association between wages and migration may simply be a result of absence of reliable data on female wages, as Schultz (1971) pointed out in a study of internal migration in Colombia that yielded a significant association between wages and migration for men but not for women. The problems of measuring workers' participation in, as well as the wage value of, subsistence agriculture and work in the informal sector are well known. It is also becoming well known that women are overrepresented in these two areas of economic activity. While perhaps less well known, recent evidence also shows that there are gross underestimations of women's participation, as wage laborers, in modern sector agricultural activities (Deere, 1979; Buvinic, 1978).

Just as improved measures of women's economic behavior are needed in order to explain the migration of women, explanatory factors of the economic behavior of women, both at points of origin and destination, are needed in models constructed to explain migration patterns. A model recently formulated by Thadani and Todaro (1978) is such an attempt. To explain the internal migration of autonomous women, they propose modifying the male model to include:

a) actual rural-urban wage differentials and a measure of sex discrimination in the modern sector (by measuring the probability of employment) in the factor assessing employment/income differentials in the formal sector, and

b) a factor measuring employment/income differentials in the informal sector.

In addition, they include two marriage factors -- one accounting for a normative pressure to marry (marriage for its own sake) and the other responding to women's aspirations for economic mobility through marriage (operationalized as the probability of marrying males in the formal sector). They also include a sex role constraint and a "residual" factor.

The section below will review recent evidence on factors affecting the migration of women bearing in mind the theoretical and data limitations just mentioned.

The Apparent Reasons

The available evidence consistently shows sex differences in the (verbal) response autonomous migrants give to explain their own decisions to migrate. Across countries and over time, men's reasons for migration

are pr dominantly work-related. Women's reasons are less consistent (over time and across countries) and often include marriage and family as well as work reasons. A survey of moves in and out among more than two hundred villages in Bangladesh indicates that men move mainly because of work and/or living conditions (57 per cent and 89 per cent of the independent moves in and out, respectively). Women, on the other hand, move most often as a result of marriage or marriage breakdowns (63 per cent and 67 per cent of their independent moves in and out, respectively). The same survey reveals a very high divorce rate in this region that affects women specifically; there are 2.7 times more divorced women than divorced men (Ruzicka and Chowdhury,1978). In a survey of a large sample of migrants to Lima, Peru, 53 per cent of the men and 30 per cent of the women gave economic reason for their moves, while almost half of the women and only one in six males gave family reasons (Macisco, 1975). Half of the women in a sample of migrants to Lagos, Nigeria gave accompanying or following their husbands as motives. Only 8 per cent said they came for work or education-related reasons (Lucas, 1974).

While family and marriage are often mentioned by women, economic reasons increasingly are also being given. Forty per cent of the women in a sample of migrants to Bangkok, half of those in a sample migrating to Kingston, and 81 per cent of a smaller sample of women migrants to the slums of New Delhi gave employment as the main reason for their move (Piampiti, n.d.; Standing, 1978b; Singh, 1978a). As has already been mentioned, evidence from women migrants to Gaborne, Botswana, and also

to Lagos, Nigeria, suggests that women may underreport the economic reasons behind their moves (see Bryant, 1977; Lucas, 1974).

Women also verbalize freedom from traditional norms and restrictions in the village as a main reason for their moves to urban areas. Little reports this as the case for many African women, especially women who have unhappy or barren marriages. Connell et al (1976) find that women among the Baoule in Ivory Coast migrate as "an act of defiance against men", and Castro et al, (1978) find that many young women migrate to urban areas in Brazil after having lost their virginity. There is no evidence of men giving similar "freedom" reasons for their moves, and the possibility exist that these women migrate not to attain freedom but because they are forced to leave when they break socially defined codes, which tend to be harsher for women than for men. However, it should be kept in mind that motives of women migrants may differ from those of men only in their expression; the reasons given need not correspond with the real reasons for migration.

Underlying Socioeconomic Factors

To pinpoint socioeconomic factors that affect the migration of the sexes differently, this section will review regional economic factors explaining women's migration as well as factors that may restrict the migration of one sex but not the other. The relative mobility of the sexes in different geographical areas depends on the relative economic responsibility carried by men and women, the relative availability of alternative jobs for the two sexes, and economic as well as noneconomic

restrictions on women.

Women migrants in Latin America and the Caribbean. In the last two decades women in the region have predominated in rural to urban migration flows. They are both young (10-19 age cohort) and old, single, less educated than their male counterparts, and generally also less educated than native urban women. They tend to migrate to the larger cities and metropolitan areas, whether they have moved in stagewise fashion or directly from the rural region of origin.

Parallels have been drawn between historical internal migration patterns in the region and those of the United States; these stages can be related to different levels of economic development. In the first stage, more males than females migrate and migration is seasonal or residence at the destination lasts only a year or two. During the second stage, more families migrate, and more migrants intend to stay for several years or until they retire, if not permanently. Finally, during the third stage, more females migrate (Elton, 1974).

There is wide agreement that economic factors determine this third migratory stage. Women's high rates of rural outmigration are attributed to their displacement from subsistence agriculture as land consolidation, agricultural mechanization, and the growth of wage employment reduce women's productive role and leave them increasingly dependent on men's insecure income. In conditions of strictly limited access to cultivable land, population growth has added to fragmentation of land ownership and, thus, to stagnant incomes. This general pattern of stagnant and declining rural living standards, common to many economies in which capitalist growth

is occuring, has meant lack of jobs for young women in agriculture as well as decreased opportunities to earn even low incomes (Standing, 1978d).

On the other hand, the large metropolitan areas offer these women work in either domestic service or the informal sector. As low paid as these jobs may be, it is argued that since young girls are not needed to help in either agricultural work or in household tasks, poor families may maximize potential resources such as wealth, income, and employment opportunities of all family members by sending their young daughters to town to become domestic workers, even if only for room and board (Boserup, 1970; Jelin, 1977).

The data available is quite consistent in supporting this "pull" argument. In fact, pull factors seem to outweigh all others in explaining women's mobility. In Chile, the correlation between urban population and migratory pull is higher for women than it is for men (Bustamante, 1978); in Peru, pull factors appear more important than push factors to explain the predominantly female migratory flows to urban areas in the 1960s (Macisco, 1975).

The employment patterns of female migrants in the large Latin American cities--their high participation in sectors of low productivity and wages as domestic work and other personal services--suggests urbanization rather than industrialization as the structural factor "pulling" women to the cities. The available evidence supports this suggestion. Data from Chile shows that women migrants are more attracted than men by urban areas that provide health, housing, and basic education infrastructure; that is, when compared to men, they appear to migrate not only

for the jobs the city offers but also for the infrastructure and services of urban environments (Bustamante, 1978). However, although they are attracted by such services, they usually do not benefit from them because they cannot find work in areas where services are available.

Historical labor force participation data from Brazil and from Colombia indicates that men's, but not women's, participation is directly related to industrialization levels (Lewin et al, 1977; Leon de Leal, 1977). Large metropolitan areas in Brazil show an inverse relationship between level of economic development and the proportion of female population living in the area (the urban sex ratios); further, it is in the least developed metropolitan areas that women most often are employed in the tertiary sector of the economy, especially in the category of personal services (Lewin et al, 1977)[12]. The Brazil data suggests that women migrants may end up in urban environments with low levels of industrialization, limited opportunities for productive employment and low or inaccesible levels of urban services. The Chile data confirm this. Urban areas with better health and housing infrastructures "hold" on to migrant men more than to migrant women; when compared to women, men leave sooner those provinces with less health and housing infrastructures. The explanation may lie in the types of employment offered to men and women. Men are placed in urban areas in the high capital technological sector associated with high earnings as well as good health and housing services. Men's jobs stabilize men in areas with good infrastructure facilities,

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[12] That is, there is a significant negative correlation between the economic development of different metropolitan areas and female labor force participation in services.

while women, who migrated in the first place to these areas because of more housing and health facilites, obtain jobs that prevent their access to these urban benefits (Bustamante, 1978).

Although the "pull" factors have been largely confirmed, recent findings bring into question the "push" factors widely used to explain the women's outmigration from rural areas in Latin America and the Caribbean. The commonly held assumption is that women's role in agriculture in the region is low and/or restricted to the subsistence sector. Data from Brazil, Colombia, and Honduras, however, challenge census reporting and show that a significant proportion of wage labor in current commercial agriculture is women's labor (Lexin et al, 1977; Deere, 1979; Buvinic, 1978). Moreover, the Brazil data, show a positive association between expansion of small landholdings (through colonization and subdivisions) in the 1950-60 decade and growth in women's labor force participation in agriculture. It does not seem, therefore, that women migrate to the cities in the region because they have no access to wage earning jobs in agriculture or because fragmentation of landownership has displaced them from agriculture. It is highly probable that rural/urban wage differentials still play an important part in women's rural outmigration, even if they are agricultural wage laborers.[13/] An additional central factor may be rural/urban differentials in infrastructure especially housing, education, and child care--which is one of the bases for our hypothesis that a substantial proportion of those women migrants may be

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13/ In fact, a logical prediction is a much higher probability of outmigration for rural women who have access to cash earnings than for those who do not. The only exception would be the migration of young girls many of whom are sent to the city to reside with relatives and/or "god parents" (Jelin, 1977).

de facto heads of household with one or more children to support.

Sex differences in migratory patterns in Sub-Sahara Africa. In order to explain migratory patterns in Africa, an analysis must be made of the sex-specific factors that prevent (as well as those that promote) the migration of women. It is by now well known that economic policies introduced in the early part of this century by colonial regimes triggered a vast migration of rural African men to plantations and urban areas in search of work that would provide them with cash incomes. The overall redirection of economic activity from precolonial production and trade to export oriented production and commerce, the introduction of goods and services that had to be purchased with cash, and the imposition of compulsory labor laws caused the migration of, for instance, West Africans from the interior to the coastal administrative/commercial centers. It also reinforced the customary wide difference in marriage age of young men and girls in African villages. The recruitment for wage labor of males between the ages of 20-35 left a high village ratio of women to men in those age groups; women waited and married the older men who had returned from wage labor (see Boserup, 1970; Sudarkasa, 1977). Women generally did not migrate with the men, not only because of labor policy restrictions but also--and more importantly--because women had had a significant part in pre-colonial subsistence agriculture and remained in charge of subsistence crops in the village. (Boserup, 1970; Tinker, 1976).

This pattern of highly male selective seasonal or nonpermanent migration continues today, especially in South African countries where

government restrictions do not permit males to be accompanied by their families. Recent UN estimates place up to nine males for every female in some mining towns in Lesotho and Botswana, among others. Mueller (1977) estimates that the average miner spends 35 per cent of his working life in the mines. Social restrictions against the migration of women from rural to urban areas are also mentioned in migration studies for selected African countries (i.e. Zambia and Kenya), although such restrictions are not present in other countries (i.e., Ghana and Nigeria) (Caldwell, 1968; Levine, 1966). In Zambia, until 1916 it was illegal for a single women to migrate to town without permission of the native commissioner (Schuster, 1979). Little (1973) interprets the enactment of this law as an attempt to preserve tribal stability and induce the return of migrant men. One of the reasons given for women's reluctance to move to town now is the fear of being labeled a prostitute (Schuster, 1979). Men perpetuate this restriction by not marrying urban women, but returning to the villages in order to find wives. On the other hand, Levine (1966) reports positive reactions to the migration of women in northern Nigeria, where women's market and trading activities require mobility.

Women, however, are starting to leave the rural areas in some African countries. A significant proportion of single women started migrating to Lagos, Nigeria, after the 1966-67 Civil War; by 1973, for every woman aged 25-29 who grew up in Lagos State there were three migrants of the same age (Levine, 1966). Caldwell observes a significant tendency toward a greater equalization of the sexes in the 1960s

in West African non-primate cities. He attributes these demographic changes to increased employment opportunities for women in the cities and a vast improvement in the system of roads and transportation (Caldwell, 1975). Bryant (1977), Schuster (1979), and Sudarkasa (1977) also cite the employment opportunities that African cities are offering women; not surprisingly, as in the Latin American case, they are domestic work. Also, as in the Latin American case, the migration of autonomous African women seems to occur in two extreme age cohorts, the very young and women over fifty years of age. For the very young, the "pull" factors identified are jobs as domestics and marriage motives. The "push" factors are further deteriorating economic conditions in rural areas, coupled with heavy agricultural burdens for women and the severe shortage of males of marriagable ages within certain villages and/or status groups as a result of previous patterns of male migration (Little, 1973).

For the very old, the "pull" factors are jobs in the cities. The "push" factor again is increasing rural poverty, particularly for widowed or divorced women with dependents and without the traditional economic support they used to have.

An additional push factor given is the increased willingness of farmers to hire women at less than male wages (Connell et al, 1976), which suggests that, as in Latin America, more women than is currently thought may be participating as wage labor in commercial agriculture.

Sex differences in migration patterns in North Africa and the Middle East. The existing migration literature reports few women migrants in North Africa and the Middle East, at least in internal migratory flows. Islam has been widely thought to restric women's

mobility--geographically and socially. Whereas in Latin America and Africa movement of women over geographical boundaries has been prevalent for more than two decades now, until recently Muslim women could not leave their homes unless their menfolk did. Although this is still largely the case as far as the movement of unaccompanied women to internal labor markets is concerned, the attraction offered by external labor markets has been sufficiently strong to pull women out of their traditional setting. Even Muslim women now respond to the economic opportunities offered by the advanced Western European contries. The migration of Turkish women to the labor centers in Western Europe which began in the 1960s, is a case in point. Because they would accept low wages and were not unionized, Turkish women were attractive to employers (Abadan-Unat, 1976). Behind this "pull" factor, structural changes in the Turkish economy that led to the mechanization of farm work and cash cropping "pushed" women from rural areas (Kudat et al, 1976).

Government policy, however, shaped the demographic features of this migration. European "host" governments designed immigration regulations that eased the entrance of women with no dependents and relatively high education. The age and education restrictions as well as those on the entering of dependents skewed the "pull" factors toward young, educated, unmarried women. Despite the governmental quota systems designed to secure the participation of underdeveloped areas, information delays and application procedures further shaped the characteristics of women migrants. Studies have shown clearly that, among the Turkish migrants abroad, women of underdeveloped Eastern and South Eastern Anatolia and, within them, women of rural origin were significantly underrepresented

(Kudat et al., 1976)

Most moves of women who migrate within the region are of wives accompanying international migrant laborers; for instance, one of five migrants in Dubai are women. Women, 92 per cent of them wives, travel with their husbands from Oman to Dubai because it is cheap and there is provision of housing (Birks and Sinclair, 1977 b). Examining the migration to the greater capital in Sudan, Oberai (1977) notes that "of the 374 female recent migrants, 90 per cent had come to the three towns to join relatives." Among these, a very high proportion were wives joining their husbands. "These statistics indicate that, in the case of women, family-linked migration is more common than individual migration." It is encouraged by the government's cheap land policy in the Khartoum area, where "the massive distribution of subsidized plots is likely to stimulate an increasing number of migrants to come. The ten years period qualification, plus a family in town, will encourage many migrants to bring their families with them and to pack them into existing houses in order to qualify for the cheap land " (1977: 214-215).

Women migrants in Asia. Historically, many Asian countries have had high participation rates of women both in the traditional and modern sectors. It was primarily South East Asian women who, along with Indian men, worked in the British enterprises during the colonial regimes. Owing to the favorable job opportunities for women in the towns, Burmese men who today migrate to town usually bring their wives with them (Boserup, 1970). More generally, job opportunities in urban areas for women, rather than "marriage" reasons most often evoked in the literature, may account for at least some of the comparatively large proportion of Asian women migrants who move to

the cities with or following their husbands.

Asian women, however, also move autonomously within villages and from villages to large cities. A large proportion of the "sequential" village migration in India is attributed to marriage reasons (Zachariah n.d.). The underlying explanations most often stated are unequal sex ratios, not just within villages but also within specific status and caste groups (Bose, 1967).

Moves of autonomous women migrants to selected Asian cities--for instance, Manila and Bangkok--has intensified in the last two decades. The predominance of women migrants to Manila intensified in the 1960s and in Bangkok metropolis, the predominant male migrant trend of the 1960s was reversed in the early 1970s (Smith, 1978; Piampiti n.d.). The reason for these patterns appear to be mostly economic. Recent evidence shows that females are "pulled" to the cities because of the availability of a variety of (low-paid) female occupations; contributing to this pull and shaping the destination of women migrants are kinship networks and the presence of kin in cities. Singh shows that a majority of women migrants (81 per cent) in her sample came to New Delhi to find work. An earlier survey in Korea yielded the same findings. Piamipita (n.d.) found the most important reason for migration in Thailand to be economic--about 50 per cent of the women cited economic factors, including employment or improvement in standard of living. Similarly, Pernia (n.d.) found that women in the Philippines are attracted to large cities because of occupational opportunities in the service sector.

Singh states that kinship and caste influence women's decisions as to where to migrate in India while Pernia finds that kin at the place of destination influences all migrants' decision to migrate but that this influence is strongest for autonomous female migrants.

Among the "push" factors identified for women again are population pressure and mechanization of agriculture changing subsistence activities of women to nonagricultural work in the cities (Piampiti, n.d.) and rural poverty (Singh, 1978 b). Data for Bangladesh (Ruzicka and Chowdhury, 1978) and the Philippines (Pernia n.d.) show that many of the women migrants are heads of household. Push and pull factors are probably stronger for these women.

VI. ECONOMICS OF MIGRATION

a. What is the Economic Situation of Women Migrants?

The economic condition of the woman migrant is to be understood in the context of the combined interaction between factors marking her marginal status and restrictions imposed upon her by the urban occupational structure.

Her economic marginality is reflected not--as might be expected--in high unemployment. Quite to the contrary. She will have a higher probability of employment in urban settings (even where levels of unemployment are high) compared to male migrants and native urban women. If unemployed

she is likely to be actively searching for work (Standing, 1978d).

The autonomous woman migrant stands out as particularly disadvantaged because she has more pronounced economic needs, less access to support networks for financial assistance, and very few resources of her own to draw upon. This, coupled with low aspirations as to wages , compels her to accept low-status jobs and marginal wages that male migrants and urban resident women are less willing to take (Standing, 1978d).[14/] To the extent that a segmented labor market consisting mainly of static jobs characterizes many urban areas, the initial relegation of women migrants into low-status, low-income jobs is likely to prevent possible mobility or assimilation into the formal labor market structure (Castro et al., 1978; Standing, 1978d). Migrant women tend to be low-paid workers throughout their lives.

The very nature of the urban occupational structure limits both migrant and nonmigrant populations. The relation between migration and urban employment obviously goes in two directions. The size of the labor force and hence rates of employment and unemployment are a direct result of the flow of migrants from other, mainly rural areas. At the same time, it is the size of the job market and availability of employment possibilities in the city that draws migrants to urban areas (Lubell and McCallum, 1978). In situations where wage opportunities are limited and/or where high levels of male unemployment persist, what effect do

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14/ Aspiration wage rates for unemployed migrants in Kingston, Jamaica, were shown to be 33 cents for women and 84 cents for men. Furthermore it was evident that women were prepared to work longer hours than male migrants and women non-migrants (Standing, 1978a)

factors peculiar to sex discrimination against women in general have on the employment of women migrants? Though there is evidence of sexual inequality in the labor market, it is not always clear to what degree sex discrimination directly or indirectly affects the probability of migrant women obtaining employment.

For West African countries, the difficulties experienced by women in entering into wage labor and the formal sector are attributed to lack of wage earning opportunities even in the unskilled occurations (Adepoju, 1976; Sudarkasa, 1977) which forces needy migrant women to be involved in very marginal self-employment activities, such as illicit beer making, prostitution, etc. (UNECA, 1975). Others cite the prevalence of a male oriented formal labor market (Bryant, 1977) which excludes unskilled and educated women alike (Sudarkasa, 1977). There is also resistance among African men to allowing their women to work in a formal setting where they are placed under the authority of other males (Boserup, 1970). There is specific mention, however, to consider bias against hiring women migrants in particular (Pernia n.d.,; UNECA, 1975).
Cultural definitions of the appropriate work role women are to pursue likewise structure opportunities for women migrants. For Indian women, Singh points out the influence of caste and regional background in dictating whether or not a woman should work at all and in specifying the acceptable range of choices when she does take up employment (Singh, 1978a). In some instances religious/cultural systems which idealize segregation of the sexes place limitations on choices available to women as well (Youssef, 1973).

There is evidence of significant sex differences in the economic condition of urban migrants as revealed by 1) employability levels; 2) employment patterns; 3) income; 4) family structure and other aspects of economic marginality.

1. Employability Levels. Latin American and Asian data show very similar employment levels for urban migrant males versus native urban resident men, but distinctively higher levels among urban women migrants as compared to native urban women residents. Men appear to migrate for better jobs and higher wages, are more discriminating about the jobs they will accept, and seemingly can afford to wait longer in order to obtain relatively more lucrative employment. Women, by contrast, are forced by prenounced economic need to take any job since they cannot afford to wait. This explains in part why unemployment rates are so much lower for migrant women than they are for men (See table 7)

High employment levels among migrant women are widely reported despite their low levels of skill and, in certain countries, the prevalence of chronically high rates of urban unemployment. Information from interviews with women migrants in some cities and census data for migrants in others reveal the following employment rates: 60 per cent in Chile(Censo de Poblacion 1970); 40 per cent among the Basti of Delhi (Singh n.d.); 38 per cent in Bogota (Schulz, 1971), and 69 per cent in San Salvador (Karush, n.d.). In the metropolitan region of Sao Paulo, migrant women comprise 66 per cent of the female active population in the city (Castro, et al., 1978) (See Table 8). Studies carried out in Jakarta

Table 7: Unemployment by Migrant Status and Regions Brazil, 1970

	MALES					FEMALES				
	Total		Migrants		Non-migrants	Total		Migrants		Non-migrants
Belém	4.4	<	4.7	>	4.3	1.7	>	1.2	<	1.8
Fortaleza	5.6	<	6.9	>	4.2	3.0	<	3.4	>	2.9
Recife	7.0	>	5.9	<	7.1	4.1	>	3.4	<	4.9
Salvador	4.4	<	4.6	>	4.4	2.7	>	1.9	<	3.1
Belo Horizonte . .	4.9	<	5.3	>	4.7	2.3	>	2.2	=	2.2
Rio de Janeiro . .	4.3	<	4.6	>	4.2	2.3	>	2.2	=	2.2
São Paulo	3.5	<	4.1	>	3.1	2.4	<	2.7	>	2.2
Curitibia	1.9	<	2.5	>	1.7	1.3	<	1.7	>	1.0
Pôrco Alegre . . .	2.5	<	2.8	>	2.4	2.1	<	2.2	>	2.0

Source: Fraenkel, et al. (1975), p. 14.

Table 8: Economically Active Population by Type of Activity

Metropolitan Sao Paulo, Brazil, 1970

Activity	Economically Active Females as a Percent of Total Economically Active Population	Economically Active Migrant Females as a Percent of Total Economically Active Population	Economically Active Migrant Females as a Percent of Total Economically Active Females	Economically Active Migrant Males as a Percent of Total Economically Active Population	Economically Active Migrant Females as a Percent of Total Economically Active Migrants
Agriculture/Fish /Hunting	.09	.06	.66	.64	.09
Industry and Mining	.21	.13	.60	.55	.19
Civil Construction	.01	< .01	.55	.81	< .01
Whole/Retail Trade	.20	.12	.59	.53	.16
Services	.34	.27	.77	.55	.33
Hygiene	.58	.37	.64	.32	.54
Ready Made Clothing	.63	.45	.71	.28	.61
Machinery	.01	< .01	.59	.64	.01
Entertainment	.18	.11	.61	.54	.17
Domestic Service	.96	.77	.80	.03	.96
Canning and Preserving	.12	.09	.75	.74	.11
No Activity Clearly Defined	.12	.06	.52	.54	.11
Food Industry	.18	.14	.77	.67	.17
Transportation & Communications	.05	.01	.54	.65	.04
Social Activities	.64	.40	.62	.24	.62
Public Administration	.18	.10	.54	.51	.15
Other Activities	.23	.12	.51	.43	.22
Liberal Profession	.26	.13	.51	.38	.25
Total	.28	.19	.66	.50	.27

Source: Castro et. al, 1978

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show that women migrants tend to take up whatever jobs are available, while in El Salvador, the numerous young unskilled migrant women, who regularly move into the capital city are easily assimilated in into the employment structure but the same is not true for men. Women migrants are found to be working in greater number than nonmigrants. Some of the differences in the economic activity rates between the two female populations are: in Bogota - 38 per cent and 27 per cent (standardized by age); in Santiago, Chile, 57 per cent and 30 per cent (Jelin 1977); in Delhi, 40 per cent among the Basti community compared to 5 per cent for the total female population in Delhi (Singh n.d.). Chaudhury's work in Dacca (1976) and Goldstein and Triasawat's work in Bangkok (1977) also demonstrate the higher activity rates for migrant compared to nonmigrant women. In Sao Paulo, two women out of three in the economically active population are migrants. (Castro et al 1978) (See table 8.). There is a direct association (at least in the Latin American cities) between high employment levels, youth, recent migration, and residence in capital city areas. For example, in Colombia, among the 10-19 age cohort 46.9 per cent of the women migrants, as compared to 15 per cent of the urban nonmigrant residents, were working (age standardized). Similar patterns emerge in San Salvador (Karush n.d.). In Santiago, Chile, activity rates for recent women migrants were 57 per cent as compared to 35 per cent for those migrant women who had been living in the city for more than ten years. (Jelin 1977).

2. Employment Patterns. It has been recently argued that, contrary to traditional assumptions, the point of entry for migrants into the urban economy is not via the informal sector (Mazumdar, 1976); However, the evidence presented for Brazil, Tanzania and Panama, speaks only for male migrants who gain considerable access to blue-collar jobs. This tendency among male migrant has also been reported for India (Zachariah n.d.), Guatemala (Special Census tables, 1973) and Colombia (Shultz, 1971) (See table 9). In Brazil and Colombia among others male migrants are noted for their participation in construction (Fraenkel et al, 1975 Lubell and McCallum, 1978) and the industries. In Sao Paulo, male migrants make up 60 per cent of all workers in the industries. Women migrants, on the other hand, are almost all squeezed into low-status, low-income jobs, usually in domestic service. This is true even in those countries where new employment opportunities have been created with the development of tertiary activities and industries (Tables 8,9). That domestic service draws from the large supply of unskilled female migrants coming into the cities has been amply documented for Latin America, particularly for those migrants who are young, are recent, and move to capital city areas. An update of the literature confirms the association for internal and interregional migration. In Buenos Aires, 51 per cent of recent migrants coming from Brazil and 62 per cent of those from neighbouring countries found employment in domestic service (Jelin, 1977). In Brazil's metropolitan regions, 53-57 per cent of the economically active migrants are in domestic work .

15/ These figures probably underestimate the actual number of maids since many domestics often escape enumeration in census and household surveys. (Lubell and McCallum, 1978).

Table 9: Occupational Status of Economically Active Recent Migrants and Residents by Sex and Destination: Colombia, 1964 (In Percentages)

Sex and Occupational Status	Bogota		Other Urban Areas		Rural Areas	
	Migrants	Residents	Migrants	Residents	Migrants	Residents
Male						
1. Professionals and technicians...	8.2	8.7	6.7	4.0	1.2	.9
2. Nonprofessional employers.....	3.2	6.7	4.2	7.1	7.3	12.5
3. White-collar employees.....	19.4	20.1	13.4	11.9	2.0	.3
4. Blue-collar employees.....	34.4	35.0	26.3	27.7	6.7	3.2
5. Nonprofessional, own account....	13.2	16.3	19.3	25.8	16.9	31.2
6. Domestic services.....	1.3	0.5	1.2	0.7	0.6	0.2
7. Other services.....	9.1	4.7	7.5	3.9	1.7	0.4
8. Other manual and unremunerated family workers (including agric. employees.....	11.2	7.5	21.5	18.9	63.6	51.2
Total[a/]	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Female						
1. Professionals and technicians...	7.2	10.1	11.3	9.7	16.2	5.1
2. Nonprofessional employers.....	0.4	1.9	0.9	2.3	3.4	7.4
3. White-collar employees.....	11.5	24.8	8.3	16.3	3.5	3.4
4. Blue-collar employees.....	6.5	12.5	5.5	10.1	1.2	3.3
5. Nonprofessional, own account....	3.4	9.5	7.9	20.3	9.3	33.1
6. Domestic services.....	61.4	28.6	53.4	29.4	48.8	21.3
7. Other services.....	5.8	6.3	8.0	4.9	4.6	2.8
8 Other manual and unremunerated family workers (including agric. employees.....	3.7	6.3	4.8	7.0	13.0	23.6
Total[a/]	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

a/ Table excludes Armed Forces Personnel.
Source: CELADE, 1970, Tables 8 and 27 cited from Martine, 1975b

Among all migrant women, 50 per cent of those employed in Sao Paulo, 66 per cent of those in Lima, 61 per cent of those in Bogota and 53 per cent of those in other urban areas of Colombia are domestics (Martine, 1975b; Shultz, 1971; Castro, et al, 1978). In Jamaica, close to 50 per cent of a group of women migrants who were coming into Kingston began work as domestics (Standing, 1978d). Nonmigrant urban residents are less likely to work as domestics. In Bogota, for example, only 29 per cent of this group were domestics, in Sao Paulo, only 17.8 per cent.

Although it is well documented for Latin American countries, the relationship between female migration and domestic service appears to hold for other regions as well. Studies carried out in Delhi's shanty towns show that migrant women workers are heavily involved in domestic work. In barrios in Central Luzan in the Philippines, the largest job category for young women migrants (ages 11 to 25) is "housemaid" (Anderson, 1972).

> Anderson writes: "Parents do not take pride in having daughters work as maids; the dangers of permitting young girls to live far away from parental supervision is recognized. The chances that such girls will make a customary marriage including provision of a male dowry--are much reduced, and they are permitted to undertake such work only because the small earnings gained are so badly needed by the household they come from, ..."

Connell et al, (1976) note that Filipino women migrants have increasingly become domestics; from 60 per cent in 1951, to 90 per cent in 1965. The economic marginality of the migrant women insofar as her relegation to domestic service work is best summarized by Lubell and McCallum (1978) with data obtained for Colombia. Having established the heavier

clustering of migrants in services by showing that 24.7 per cent of all native residents, as opposed to 39.3 per of all migrant populations, are active in the "service" sector, the authors compare sex differences in occupations within each migrant and nonmigrant group. This shows a dramatic difference between migrant and nonmigrant women and considerably less difference between comparable groups of men. For instance, 61 per cent of migrant women, as opposed to 28.6 per cent of the urban resident women, are shown to be in domestic work; the corresponding percentages were 1.3 and 0.5 for the two groups of male workers.

Exclusive reliance on the informal sector and, in particular, on domestic work means that the migrant woman's work life is unstable, insecure, and badly paid[16/]. Many go into prostitution as a result. The involvement particular of migrant women in prostitution is shown for Latin American, African, and Asian countries alike (Piampeti n.d.; Castro et al, 1978; UNECA, 1975).

Other occupational outlets. Clearly not all women migrants enter the informal sector; not all become domestic servants.

In Colombia, 7.2 per cent of women migrants in Bogota were employed in professional and/or technical capacity; 11.5 per cent were in white-collar occupations. Very few were found to be in nonprofessional or blue-collar occupations. But in all of the above categories, women migrants were in relative terms, outnumbered by a ratio of 2:1 by urban women residents. (Martine, 1975b; Lubell and McCallum, 1978)

16/ In Bogota, in 1972, it was not difficult to employ maids for a cash salary 250 pesos ($7.00) monthly, plus uniform, cheap food and a room. (Lubell and McCallum, 1978)

In Chile, dissaggregation of the migrant population by age, recency and type of migration and destination, shows that among chronic and return migrants to Santiago, over age 24, for example, a high proportion of women fall into professional categories. Similarly for women migrants beyond age 15-19 moving to urban areas other than Santiago, professional occupation becomes significant (Herold, 1978).

West African women migrants tend to become traders inlarger numbers than in other regions. They do so because of the lack of other employment outlets. This is true for the women with no education as well as for those with some formal education who are unable to obtain jobs in the modern sector (Sudarkasa, 1977).

Indian women migrants have very few outlets outside of the service sector, and those available are mainly in agriculture and the cottage industries. Only a nominal number are in trade and in labor intensive jobs.They are restricted in terms of mobility. The percentage of women who work falls drastically between the unskilled (13 per cent) and the skilled categories (2 per cent) (Singh, 1978a; Papola, 1978).

Restrictions on entrance into the formal sector does not apply to women in all Asian countries. In many instances, young, unmarried women are recruited to work as unskilled labor in the light manufacturing industries. The demand for a female labor is evident for Hong Kong (Salaff, 1976) and for Bangkok (Piampiti, n.d.). In both situations, poor rural women migrated from agricultural provinces in response to the increasing demand for female labor especially in labor intensive manufacturing sectors .

Salaff found that young Chinese women from the agricultural province of Kwang Tung who migrated to Hong Kong were pushed into the labor force as industrial workers for reasons of poverty. War-related female mortality and the disintegration of the family due to migration has led to a rise of female heads of households in Hong Kong. Often too, male heads cannot earn enough income to support large families, thus forcing the daughters to contribute to the family income. As a result of the demand for female labor, coupled with yonng women's compelling need for work, in 1971, 57 per cent of those employed in the manufacturing sector were women. Eighty-eight per cent of those interviewed by Salaff (e.g., unmarried women aged 20-24) were in the formal labor force. While most of the money earned by these women reverts back to the household, such employment does provide these women with a measure of independence from their families and a greater voice in making decisions concerning their own lives (Salaff, 1976)

3. Economic Differentials. Migration has a more positive effect on men than it does on women. Female migrants fare worse in terms of occupational status at destination, they have longer work hours[17/], lower earnings, and are more disadvantaged with respect to living conditions and other amenities. Let us start with what little data we have on income differentials.

a. Income: Sex discrimination in the income structure are evident for migrant and nonmigrant populations alike. To the extent that this reflects both cultural ideals and structural inequalities, discriminatory

17/ A study carried out in Jakarta reports that among the working population, 85 per cent of women migrants, as compared to only 69 per cent of the male-migrants and 59 per cent of the nonmigrant urban women, work more than 45 hours weekly. (Sethuraman, 1976)

practices are bound to affect the woman migrant more severely because she is limited/restricted from the outset in terms of the opportunities, types and terms of work made available to her.

Fraenkel et al (1975) find that, in general, female migrants in Brazil earned less than did their male counterparts. Males with primary education generally earn between 100-200 cruzeiros per month; females earn about half that amount. Among migrants with higher levels of education, the disparity is even greater. Males who have intermediate schooling earn from 500-1,000 cruzeiros per month, while women's earnings ranged from 100 cruzeiros in Belen and 300 to 500 cruzeiros in Curitiba, Sao Paulo and Rio de Janeiro. The median income in Lima, Peru, is also substantially lower for female migrants than it is for male migrants despite higher educational levels among women (Chi and Bogan, 1974).

Table 10 below compares the earnings of migrant women in 3 metropolitan regions of Brazil to those of the total working population. It is apparent that migrant women are the most numerous in the low-income groups. The male/female comparison among the migrant workers shows that 43 per cent of the women and 7.4 per cent of the men report incomes less than 100 cruzeiros; 48 per cent of the women and 69 per cent of the men have incomes between 100 to 500 cruzeiros. Seven women in every hundred as compared to 22 men have incomes 500 cruzeiros and over. This includes ten men in every 100 who earn over 1000 cruzeiros (Castro et al, 1978). The disparity is less between the earnings of migrant/nonmigrant

Table 10: Percent Distribution of Incomes of the Economically Active Populations by Sex and Migration Status: Metropolitan Regions, Brazil, 1970.

Monthly Income (Cruzeiros)	Sao Paulo			Rio de Janeiro			Belo Horizonte			Porto Alegre			Curitiba			Recife			Salvador			Fortaleza			Total		
	♂m	♀m	♀nm	♂m	♀m	♀nm	♂m	♀m	♀nm	♂m	♀m	♀nm	♂m	♀m	♀nm	♂m	♀m	♀nm	♂m	♀m	♀nm	♂m	♀m	♀nm	♂m	♀m	♀nm
Unpaid	1	2	2	1	1	1	2	1	2	1	2	3	1	2	5	2	2	3	1	1	2	2	2	2	1.4	1.6	2.5
1-100	3	20	16	3	28	21	7	49	40	3	28	26	5	31	27	12	60	50	7	58	42	20	59	59	7.5	41.6	35.1
101-200	23	39	32	29	38	28	35	25	31	33	38	36	27	34	35	40	19	27	40	20	30	41	26	25	33.2	29.9	30.5
201-500	43	28	35	40	23	35	35	19	22	40	25	28	42	25	26	28	14	16	30	14	19	23	10	10	35.1	19.7	23.8
501-1000	19	8	12	16	7	11	12	4	4	15	6	6	14	6	5	9	4	3	11	5	5	8	2	3	13.0	5.3	6.1
1001+	11	3	3	11	3	4	9	2	1	10	1	1	11	2	2	9	1	1	11	2	2	6	1	1	9.8	1.9	1.9
Total %	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100.	100.	100.

Source: Castro et al. 1978.

Note: ♂m = male migrants

♀m = female migrants

♀nm = female non-migrants

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women workers. Nevertheless, 42 per cent of the former and 36 per cent of the latter earn less than 100 cruzeiros. Both populations fared equally low in income brackets, 500 cruzeiros and over.

A study in Santiago, Chile, revealed that the median monthly income was 109 escudos for households headed by native men over 93 escudos for those headed by migrant men, and 84 escudos for those headed by native women. (Elizaga, 1972). Similar findings are reported in El Salvador. Among migrants, the proportion who earned 40 colones weekly is consistently higher for women in all comparable sectors. This is explained by the migrant woman's low literacy, youth, and involvement in the domestic work sector (Karush, n.d.). The personal services sector shows the highest percentage--approximately 85-99 per cent--of workers with earnings below minimum wages compared to 42 per cent to 73 per cent for those working in construction (Fraenkel, 1975).

In comparing income levels of migrant and nonmigrant women in Kingston, Jamaica, Standing (1978d) finds that with education held constant, migrant women consistently earned less than urban non migrants.

b. Living Conditions: Macisco (1975) finds that fewer women than men migrants in Lima, Peru, live in high socioeconomic status areas. Further, the proportion of women migrants living in high SES areas declines with age--the opposite of the case for men. He also finds that women migrants are less likely than male migrants to have social security cards, read newspapers, or watch TV. Again this is in directly related to age for women and inversely for men. Such findings clearly show that

(at least in Peru) the socioeconomic status of male migrants improves over time, but that of female migrants deteriorates. Such findings would have to be replicated in other cities before a more generalized statement can be made. In San Salvador, Karush (n.d.) reports that unemployment rates rise sharply among males aged 45 and over. Women have greater chances of working because of their involvement in types of activities (service, trade) that do not discriminate on the basis of age.

4. Family Structure. Many women migrants are heads of household, de jure and de facto. At this point the evidence is available for some Latin American countries. We expect these findings to emerge in other regions as well.

The preponderance of women as compared to men who migrate to urban areas in Latin America and the fact that female migrants tend to be younger and to migrate without spouses (Elton, 1974) has been shown earlier. One consequence of this is the formation in urban areas of households headed by migrant women and of a large preponderance of single mothers. (Vas da Costa, n.d.; Villalta, 1971; Whiteford, 1978). For this group of migrants the difficulties of urban life become most severe. Not only are women heads of household poorer than those headed by men but those headed by migrant women are the poorest of all. These women and their children survive, in some instances, on median earnings of US $6.00 monthly; their income is less than one half that of male household heads and one quarter of the monthly income of the total household (Whiteford, 1978). A more detailed discussion of this subject is pursued in the section on Family Structure.

b. What is the Impact of Male Migration Upon Rural Women?

For several decades increasing population pressure, rural poverty, and (more recently) the high wages offered in countries with labor shortages have caused men from rural areas to emigrate in search of wage labor in the city or in another country. In African countries, the pattern of internal and intra-regional labor migration has been the following: the men have left home to work for a period of years, returning occasionally on vacation and eventually retiring to their rural homes. Usually, wife and children have been left behind to continue the agricultural work and maintain the husband's claim to his share in the patrimonial land (Levine, 1966).[18/] The South African government has deliberately fostered this pattern to prevent large permanent settlements of Africans in cities. In 1970 there were 420,000 migrants from Lesotho, Mozambique, Malawi, Botswana and Swaziland working in South Africa all of whom were forbidden to be accompanied by their families (U.N., forthcoming). Similar patterns in other countries suggest that this is not simply a function of government regulation. It is estimated that one half of the married women in Basutoland have absent husbands (Levine, 1966). The 1969 Kenya census shows 525,000 rural household headed by women; 400,000 of which had male heads of household living in towns (Palmer, 1977). In Ghana, of the total male migrants recorded, one half were married; of those 85 per cent had migrated alone (Caldwell, 1968).

18/ Needless to say, the effects of male absenteeism on women are not restricted to rural areas; indeed, men leave their families behind in tons or cities as well. However, studies have hitherto neglected this phenomena.

More recently the phenomenon of the absentee husband has become more widespread in countries outside of Africa. Perhaps the most striking recent example referred to in section III are aspects of international labor migration in the Arab Near East.

In a later section we analyze the impact of male migration upon rural family structure. Our immediate interest here is to bring together some reported facts about the economic impact of male migration. The data available is severely limited, but even so very suggestive of trends.

The classic economic reasoning that international migration has an equalizing effect on the receiving and supplying areas has not always been borne out. The economic consequences noted in some areas where there is history of predominant male outmigration patterns point to obvious negative effects of migration on communities. That much has been acknowledged. What has been left out of the total picture, however, is how women are coping with the new economic role they are called upon to assume.

In the African, Middle Eastern, and Asian context, it has been noted that after the departure of male villagers, agricultural production decreases, less food is available to towns and/or for export, and some countries actually become dependent on food aid (Boserup, 1970; Birks and Sinclair, 1979). The need for additional hired labor increases as men depart and leave women behind to work the land alone at the same time that the supply of such labour decreases. One result is the increase in uncultivated lands and unused rural resources; another result is the outmigration of women from rural areas.

According to the 1969 census in Kenya, 30 per cent of the land in individual parcels were uncultivated (UNECA, 1975). Connell et al (1976) note for Tonga that agricultural adaptation was incomplete; single women suffered from inadequate compensation for the absence of male labor. Similarly in Tanzania, remittances were reported to be inadequate to hire labor to counteract the overburdening of women. In the Yemen, there is a growing body of informal evidence that agricultural production has been compromised by the sudden departure of migrant labor; specifically, production has been switched to less labor-intensive crops; coffee and cotton have been replaced by the quat tree. Jordan's agricultural output has fluctuated considerably over the past few years in part because of a declining productive work force. In the Sultanate of Oman migration for employment has resulted in a decline in seasonal farming and in the standard of husbandry of data palms (Birks and Sinclair, 1979).

Women are called upon to increase their agricultural workload to take over important agricultural decisions, to be responsible in some cases to organize cultivation and ensure that the decisions they take in economic matters are implemented. There are regional and country variations in the extent to which absent husbands and/or male kin control decisions about crops and innovations (Boulding, 1977). And certainly the impact of male emigration on women will be reduced in settings where women normally do farmwork or can move into it easily. In some cases, however, women are assuming new roles and where this represents a significantly new responsibility, social change is likely to follow (Connell et al, 1976).

Some country studies point to the critical economic role that the 'women left behind' assume in organizing and being primary participants in cooperative activities surrounding agricultural production (Mueller, 1977; Ross, 1977; Myntti, 1978; Kudat, 1978a). Thus, women in Lesotho organize work parties for the plowing, planting and harvesting of crops and are primary participants in agricultural production; (Mueller, 1977) Women in India have joined the labor force to replace the men who have migrated (the percentage of workers among women increased in high migration villages by 46.5 per cent) (Connell et al, 1976). Some Turkish village women design and build their own homes with the remittances sent by their husbands from West Germany, drive their own tractors to cultivate the family land during the husband's absence (Kudat 1973). Yemeni women are participating in traditionally male dominated agricultural activities (plowing, planting and harvesting), assuming control of family farms, making investment decisions extending beyond the agricultural sector. In some instances they participate in home electrification, group well-drilling and cattle investment (Ross, 1977; Myntti, 1978).

The disadvantaged dimension of their existence should not be overlooked. Though women's agricultural work load has increased, there are severe institutional inequalities in the system. In some parts of India women do agricultural work when men take jobs in the city; however the men usually return at harvest time to sell crops and maintain control over farm income (Singh, 1978a). Yemen women who are agricultural workers earn far less than their males counterparts (Ross, 1977), and in rural Lesotho despite their enormous workload women are deriving increasingly lower benefits. Subsistence output, though still necessary for family

survival is increasingly and necessarily being subsidized by cash purchases. Crop cultivation does not yield cash or adequate food for a family, and most women purchase extra sorghum and maize to supplement what they grow. With growing reliance on cash, male work is assuming more importance and women are isolated in the countryside with no access to wage-earning activities (Mueller, 1977).

C. Remittances

An important aspect of the economics of migration relates to remittances sent back to the area of origin. In international migration these are conventionally seen as one of the principal compensations to a poor country for the outmigration of its labor. Some countries support this notion insofar as the remittances appear to cover a large deficit on the balance of payment and to contribute considerable portions of all GNP. (Birks & Sinclair, 1979; Clarke, 1977). For international migrants, scattered country data provide information on a) the magnitude of the remittances, and b) in some cases the advantageous and deleterious aspects of remittances on the national economy (Birks and Sinclair, 1979) To illustrate: between 1975-1976 remittances ranged in a number of Middle Eastern countries from $10 million in the Sudan, to $526 million in Morocco, to 1.1 billion in the Yemen and 1.3 billion in Turkey. (Ross, 1977; Birks and Sinclair, 1979; OECD, 1978).

One should not be misled however by citation of these figures. In the first place there are considerable inflationary increases accompanying remittances which in some countries offset in large part the more immediate benefits. In the Yemen it is strikingly apparent in land prices.

In 1976 agricultural land prices were as high as $70,000 an acre, and some residential land in Sana had reportedly increased from $36,000 per acre in 1975 to $410,000 an acre in mid 1977 (Ross, 1977). Technology often comes with remittances or with the returnees, but this in many cases is not effectively used or actually needed (Kudat and Nikolinakos, 1975). In some instances innovations introduced to rural areas as a result of migration have been manifestation of conspicious consumption. As an example, in Turkey, electrical appliances were bought as symbols of status in villages with no electricity. (Kudat and Nikolinakos, 1975; Kudat, 1978[a]). There can also be vast differences in the earnings of international migrants as indicated by Pakistan experience. In 1976 the official reported earnings sent back to the country from all employment workers averaged only about $5 per capita, in contrast to the Yemen where it averaged $200. (Clarke, 1977).

Such differences could be a result of differential earning patterns, or the migrants intentions to permanently stay abroad. Not all international migration is nominal in the sense that it involves labor importation for specific job assignment only. When news of employment opportunities abroad are spread, many men enter the host country as visitors and work illegally until they can find employment.[19/] In such cases, as well as in most involving internal migration, remittances may not arrive until the man finds a job, keeps it and earns enough to be able to send money back home.

19/ This appears to be true for many North African migrants in France. In the Turkish case, there were periods when almost a third of all migrants in West Germany entered the country without the official intermediacy of the Work and Employment Office (Abadan -Unat, 1977).

While there is data on the overall impact of remittances on the national economy, there is little information on the regularity of remittances from internal and international migrants and, more critically, on the extent to which the 'women left behind' have control over the money involved. In the Yemen, Pakistan and India it is reported that remittances are transferred to family members in the rural areas (Ross, 1977; McClelland, 1978); and North African and African workers in France are noted to be the most regular in sending remittances home (25 per cent of their salary if unaccompanied by their wives/children)(Granier and Marciano, 1975). In some cases the extent of cash remittances varies by ethnic groups. Among internal migrants in Nigeria the obligation to contribute directly and frequently is found to be stronger among the Yoruba than the Ibo. This is reflected in the regularity and amount of cash remittances sent back home (Adepoju, 1976)

It is not always clear, however, whether the flow of funds is channelled to meet the interests of the extended family rather than those of the migrant's spouse and children. Connell et al (1976) point to basic conflicts emerging between the extended family household head, of which the migrant is a part, who wishes to use remittances for the benefit of the family at large (to eliminate family indebtedness, increase family land owning, purchase equipment, etc.) and the migrant himself. The latter is likely to want the money to be used to finance the departure of his wife and children to join him. In more cases than not, this does not happen (Jeffery, 1976; Connell et al, 1976). For Indian urban migrants Singh (1978a)reports that remittances are almost always sent back and controlled

by the joint family rather than directly by the wife and children of the migrant.

It has also been noted that remittances are often more likely to be high in the early period after departure (if and when employment has been secured) but decrease or cease in some cases after a time. There are obvious trade offs made by the migrant between the attractions of city life (gambling, prostitution) and the 'interest' he continues to maintain in the rural family left behind. The new patterns of life he faces may in his eyes diminish the value of rural life and of a rural wife. Once remittances become irregular or cease, performance of women as household heads turns into an actual role.

VII. IMPACTS OF MIGRATION ON FAMILY STRUCTURE

An important result of migration is the weakening of traditional family structures. This occurs both when a male migrates, leaving behind his family, or a female migrates either alone or with all or part of her family. In both cases, the migration often involves family fragmentation, which in turn contributes to a breakdown of many traditional family relationships and the emergence of new family structures. The length of the period of separation and the patterns of remittances are important factors in these changes.

Unfortunately, information on how migration impacts family structures is lacking. The scattered evidence that does exist, however, suggests that, in general terms, family structure and women's role within the family are affected by migration through the dissolution of patrilocal, patrilineal families, and the emergence of mixed or nuclear families (Kudat, 1975a) as well as changes in authority structures within the family (Kudat and Gurel, 1979; Wilpert, 1977; Kudat, 1973, 1974)and alterations in patterns of family communication and socialization. Family structure is also altered through changes in marriage customs (Anderson, 1972), a rise in the age at marriage, a decrease in fertility and an increase in the divorce rate (Gonzales, 1961; Rosen, 1973). Changes in sex role norms (Whiteford, 1978) and the division of labor within the family also accompany migration. Further affecting family structure, in some instances, is the increase of both extra-marital relations and

prostitution (Castro et al, 1978; Piampiti, n.d., Sudarkasa, 1977) and, in more general terms, household instability (Berggren et al, 1979) and the weakening of social control mechanisms operant in traditional societies (Kudat and Gurel, 1978).

While, on the one hand, migration has an impact on family structure, alternatively, family structure can have an impact on migration. It has been argued, for instance, that the participation in the migration process is greater for nuclear and mixed families than for extended families (Winch et al, 1967). However, the opposite has also been argued; that is, as extended families can spare people more easily, their participation through one or more family members is actually higher. Extended families may also provide greater integrative capacity to their members (Omari, 1954). Unfortunately, the extremely limited information available on this precludes any agreement on these patterns.

The Impact of Male Migration on Family Structure: The Women Left Behind.

Central to the impact of male migration on family structure is the changing social and economic role of the women who are left behind. What is the effect of a male's absence on economic and social roles of family members and patterns of communication and authority within the family? What is the influence on marriage, fertility and divorce? In the case of these changes within the family, what new roles do the women left behind assume? Do they gain new status within the family or do they

continue to function in traditional roles? How are these changes affected by the length of the males' absence and patterns of economic remittance?

Unfortunately, the extremely limited amount of information available on changes in family structure as a result of male migration leaves unanswered most of the questions raised above. The scattered evidence which does exist, however, suggests the central role of women in the process of change within the economy and the family.

In general, women left behind often function as household heads with regard to the upbringing of children, and the management of the household and agricultural activities. In addition to their already important role in planting, weeding, harvesting and processing crops, fetching water and firewood, cooking and child care, women must often assume new responsibilities milking cows, overseeing the management and herding of livestock and other agricultural activities previously carried out by men. It is expected that this would have important repercussions on women's health, position in society, informal support networks, fertility, and family stability (Ross, 1977; LeVine 1966; Gordon, 1978).

One general notion has been that male migration has a beneficial effect on the family inasmuch as the purpose of his migration was to supply an unsatisfied economic need of the family. It has been assumed that cash remittances from the men would automatically better the economic conditions of the family left behind. Unfortunately, not all of the expected positive results have been observed in both the economic

and social spheres (Bohning, 1975; Castle and Kosach, 1973; Berger and Mohr, 1975; Bingemer et al, 1970; Corsini, 1972; Mehrländer, 1969). With male migration, family fragmentation has often resulted in long separations or divorce, irregular remittances and greater burdens for the dependents left behind. These unanticipated negative results have sometimes prompted governments to encourage families to migrate together (Ansay and Gessner, 1974).

The women left behind constitute a mixed category of wives, daughters, and other female kin of men who have permanently, temporarily or seasonally left their communities for employment elsewhere. Some evidence suggests that the women left behind will tend to be younger and are more likely to be poor. For example, in Oman, middle class males are more likely to migrate with their entire families, while unskilled and semi-skilled males most often leave their families behind (Birks and Sinclair, 1979); in Lagos, male migrants with the highest number of spouses living with them are older and from higher status groups (Adepoju, 1976). In some polygamous households, the first wife may be the only one to accompany her husband, while the junior wives remain behind (Sudarkasa, 1977).

The length of absence of the male migrant is one factor influencing the situation of the families and women left behind. While in Yemen the pattern of male migration appears to be short term, and the family connection an important link, a frequent pattern among male migrants in Oman is to spend an increasing amount of time away from home with each subsequent migration. During the early stages of labor movements, male

migrants considered themselves only temporarily away from home and thought of their cash wages as supplementary to the domestic economy in which they continued their participation. In later stages, however, there occurred a basic shift in attitude towards absenteeism. Work away from the village came to be accepted as a primary activity, and migrants thus made less direct contributions to the local village economy With this came an increasing period of remaining away from home (on the average, 9.4 months). Over such a substantial length of time, considerable adaptations are necessary within the migrants' households and communities. Men in their fifties and sometimes younger, even if they wish to travel and earn income, feel obliged to remain at home to supervise the daily economic activities. This role may be assumed by an adolescent son or, increasingly, by women, but in the absence of a son considerable pressure may be exerted on older men to remain in the village to run the household. Similar problems were also valid for families left behind in towns and cities (Birks and Sinclair, 1977b).

Male migration and authority within the family. With male migration, the distances and communication barriers between husband and wife, as well as the increased economic responsibilities of the women, should be expected to result in changes in decision making and authority within the family. In some parts of Africa, however, LeVine found that the traditional ideal of male domination in the husband-wife relationship has not been challenged by male migration. While the women left behind in a Gusii community must assume an increasing burden of work (they perform almost all the

agricultural and domestic chores and oversee the herding), the men are less bound to routine tasks, have more mobility and retain authority over a major share of family income through control of income from cash crops and employment. LeVine argues that male labor migration has accentuated traditional tendencies rather than drastically restructuring sex role norms in rural communities. "While the absence of men unquestionably loosens the control they once had over their wives' activities, the women who remain behind cannot be said to have gained status relative to men..." (LeVine, 1966).

In contrast, Anderson argues that, among the Sisyano in the Philippines, the dominant role of women is reinforced by male migration. No special problems are created by households which are de facto headed by women as a result of male emigration for employment, since women historically have been in charge of the household, its budget and the children. Although these households tend to be more dependent on relatives and neighbors, "Most sitio neighbors have traditionally been highly interdependent anyway; emigration simply reinforces this interdependence." (Anderson, 1972). Male migration is found to have a similar impact on family structure among the Sabo in the Philippines (Connell et al, 1976).

The patterns in some parts of Mexico appear to be somewhat different. Weist found that in an Acuitzio village, control within the household seems to depend on the way the family members "left behind" by male migrants obtain a livelihood. If the wife-mother and children are forced

to provide primary support, then the male has generally abandoned the household and the woman becomes the household head. However, very few women interviewed maintained they had complete control over expenditures in their husband's absence. In a majority of cases remittances from the man, although regular and adequate for maintenance of the household, were only a portion of his total earnings. The man generally maintained ultimate control of the household budget by limiting the amount of his remittances (Weist, 1973).

Studies in India show how male emigration has had adverse effects on the women "left behind". Although regular and sizeable sums of money were sent back to the families of migrants, few remittances were sent directly to the wives and children. The majority were sent to senior males of the family who decided how the money would be used. Most was spent on debt payments, agricultural investments, and marriages rather than for the benefit of the wives and children. One result is that the wives of these migrants tend to display emotional problems[20/] (Sexana, 1977; Singh, 1978a).

Women Migrants and Family Structure.

Not all women are "left behind" with migration. Increasing numbers of women themselves migrate to centers, either alone or accompanied by their families. How do family structures change with female migration? What new structures emerge? How do changes in economic and social roles with migration influence women's role within the family? How are sex

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20/ See Gordon, 1978 for an empirical study conducted specifically to uncover the problems and psychological strain of women left behind.

role norms, authority and status within the family changed? What role do extended family and kinship ties play in the new locations? Is there a relationship between female migration and the emergence of women-headed households? Is the increase in prostitution, generally associated with female migration, related to a breakdown in family structures?

As with male migration, the lack of information on women migrants as related to family structure limits our ability to discuss these crucial questions. However, there is scattered evidence which suggests that important changes occur in family structure when women migrate either with their family or autonomously.

Women's unaccompanied migration to urban and international labor markets is not restricted to single women or to household heads. In both cases, married women may make the first move, alone or accompanied by one or more of their children depending, often, on the structure of the receiving labor market; in particular, the demand for unskilled female labor. In Latin America, for instance, women are known to migrate ahead of their husbands, accompanied by small children. Once in the city, the women either set out to mobilize members of the family's social networks, or strike out on their own. The husband remains behind to finish some activity before joining the family (Whiteford, 1978).

Many women also migrate accompanied by their husband and children. Although in general these families become more egalitarian and their family relations more open (Kemper, 1977), the impacts of family migration

on family structure are not always altogether positive. Instability and divorce are noted to increase, the authority of parents over their children declines and women face psychological pressures with their changing roles (Rosen, 1973; Wilpert, 1977; Abadan-Unat et al, 1976).

Women migrants and authority structure. Similar to male migration, female migration may also affect the family authority structure, primarily through the increased participation of women in economic production and wage earning. The leading role of married women and the buffer function their employment plays during their husband's search for jobs inevitably affect the sex role norms and the traditional sex hierarchy. Within the families that migrate in Mexico, husband-wife relations tend to be more egalitarian and mutually supportive in the urban setting, and most men assist and cooperate in domestic chores. The families interviewed in a particular study all demonstrate a low level of male authority and a high degree of democratic conflict resolution regardless of the specific arrangements for income production and domestic duties. Male migrants are also shown to be more apt to be affectionate to their children, and less likely to assume macho traits so common in the village (Kemper, 1977).

In Colombia, women concurred that migration resulted in more sexual equality. In Popayan, about half the time the family migrates together. In the city, the woman makes extra household decisions from the start which are different in nature than her role in the countryside. Women's roles begin to undergo a process of structural change. The women's networks, often

consisting of friends and relatives who previously moved to the city, become extremely important in finding shelter, food, and employment for the family. Women often bring home the first income, though this is generally regarded as temporary (Whiteford, 1978).

Among Turkish women migrants involved in international migration, their new roles as income earners were reflected in their raised status and power within the family, and in some cases, shifts in the family division of labor. With this new role, many women insisted on participating in decision making and income allocation, disposal of the money they earned, while others demanded joint registration of all property. In instances where the woman was the sole income earner, however, the potential threat to male authority presented an unstable situation. Along with her responsibilities as the family breadwinner, the woman must also assume the responsibility of convincing her husband that he has not lost authority. This unstable pattern seemed to be associated with a high divorce rate and other problems of family and individual disorganization (Abadan-Unat, 1977).

The change in family structures is also reflected in the elevated status of children in the family due to their ease of adjustment to new environments, better schooling and labor force participation at early ages (Wilpert, 1977; Kudat, 1974).

The role of the extended family in urban areas. Although it has been argued that migration leads to a breakdown of traditional extended family

systems, contrasting viewpoints suggest that migrant families--both nuclear and extended--although changing, are neither weak nor decaying (Flinn, 1974; Singh, 1978). Flinn argues that in Latin America, it is not that some rural extended family or modified extended family is preserved or duplicated in the city, but urban adaptation of the system is a requirement for the migrants. Other institutions either cannot or do not provide the goods and services needed by the migrants (Flinn, 1974).

Extended kinship ties are particularly important to women migrants in Delhi, India, as there is reluctance to form close friendships to those who are not related by kinship or marriage. Unlike the village, where members of a married woman's natal family would normally live in another village, in Delhi, her family were almost as likely to reside in the same basti as were the members of her husband's descent group. Thus, the basti provides the setting for the intensification of extended kin relations beyond what normally might be expected in the village (Singh, n.d.).

Migration and the emergence of female headed households. The available evidence suggests that the increase in the number of female headed households in the Third World is associated with migration, and that households headed by women migrants are disproportionately represented among the poor (Buvinic et al, 1978). The large and growing numbers of women headed households among this group is represented by evidence from Brazil, Chile, Colombia, and Guatemala. In metropolitan Rio de Janeiro and Sao Paulo, there are almost half a million households headed by women,

comprising one in every six households in Rio and one in every eight households in Sao Paulo (Vas da Costa, n.d.). Among 100 single mothers interviewed in Guatemala City, a large percentage were found to be from rural areas. None lived with their parents and only two resided with the father of their child. In the interviews, the women acknowledged the critical family economic responsibilities they are faced with. Although a majority had been unemployed before the birth of their child, all know that they alone were economically responsible for providing for their children (Villalta, 1971).

A study in Santiago, Chile, revealed that among the female headed households with children, most were headed by female migrants (Elizaga, 1972). More importantly, analysis of median monthly incomes indicated not only that female headed households were poorer than male headed households, but those headed by migrant women were poorest of all (Whiteford, 1978).

The poverty of women migrants who head households is illustrated by Whiteford's study of female migrants in Colombia. Women household heads who emigrated from the rural areas were the worst off because most have erratic, poorly remunerated jobs, and are frequently unemployed and without income.

> "Migrant women who have the most difficult times are household heads who are not married, between free union partners, or widowed. In 1970, more than half (57 per cent) of the

households headed by women fell into this truncated category. For these individuals life truly is a struggle."

Whiteford goes on to write:

> "The difficulty of the urban poor becomes disproportionately obvious with women; they often have no marketable skills and must support dependent children. Half of these women earn less than $2 U.S. per month... 24 per cent of these households show combined incomes of working members between 0 and $2 U.S. per month with the median income for these families at approximately $6 U.S. per month. The difficulties become even clearer when this is compared with the 1970 median monthly salary of the household head, $15 U.S. and the median monthly income of the total household, $25 U.S. for the barrio as a whole." (Whiteford, 1978. p. 245).

Married women also function as de facto primary earners, as evidenced in a study carried out in Dacca, Bangladesh (Chaudhury, 1976). Although the study does not explicitly identify the migrant component of the population, one may assume that the findings reflect the behavior of migrant women, at least in part, considering the predominantly rural origin of working women in Dacca. In his data Chaudhury shows that more than half of the working women were principal breadwinners for their parents or for their own households; 11 per cent of working wives were

principal breadwinners of their parents' family and 46 per cent were principal breadwinners of their own family. Marriage, therefore, does not necessarily free women from obligations to provide for their parents, and even non-working women are expected to help. Over 25 per cent of the working wives and 17 per cent of the non-working women financially assisted their parents.

Female migration and prostitution. The marginalization of women migrants is perhaps best exemplified by their widespread involvement in prostitution. This has been typically acknowledged as characteristic of Latin American cities, though increasing evidence points to similar occurences in Thailand (Piampiti, n.d.), and Africa (UNECA, 1975).

Latin American social scientists maintain that migrant women are involved in prostitution not because of their inability to cope with competition or adapt themselves economically and culturally to urban conditions (as maintained by Westerners) but rather because of their failure to find employment (Castro et al, 1978). In Bangkok, a large number of women migrants in the "services" category are concentrated in occupations such as masseuses, bar hostesses, and prostitutes (Piampiti, n.d.). West African women migrate to towns with men, but find no employment. Because they have little or no education, and because they are not favored by employers in the modern sector, they turn to illicit beer making and prostitution as the only economic opportunities readily available to them (UNECA, 1975).

Although prostitution is associated with female migration, this does not mean that many migrant women become prostitutes. In light of the disproportionate amount of attention and curiosity surrounding the topic, there is a need for better data on the subject (Sudarkasa, 1977).

What is pointed out most clearly by the scarce information that currently exists is that the relationships between women's migration and family structure is not simple. An example of women migrants in Africa illustrates the complexities involved. In many African societies where women migrate for the purposes of trading, they have benefited through increased independence, earnings and status. Yet, this also has increased male insecurity and greater family instability and has augmented the proportions of households headed by women, and increased the economic responsibilities of the women. Although there is very limited literature concerning these problems it is possible that family instability also became incompatible with women's ability to migrate for trading, since after family breakdowns child care responsibilities may not be shared to the extent they were previously (by the larger families, especially in patrilocal, patrilinear families). In cases where women break the ties with their husbands, the patrilinear kin would no longer share child care responsibilities, making it difficult for women to continue trading.

There is, however, great need for empirical research on the women migrant traders concerning the pattern of their migration, the conditions under which they live during the migration period, their family

related problems and her relationship between the kinship structure and the continuity of women's economic activity.

In general, with female migration, the endurance of the family structure and its supportive roles depends greatly on whether the woman moves towards the family, with it or away from it. A woman is often cut off from the modes of her previous daily life, her extended family, previous expectations and interactions. With diverse interactions with groups of workers, new reference groups are formed (Kudat and Gurel, 1978: p. 16-17). The increase in marital instability and prostitution has been one result of these changing social structures and roles.

Seasonal, Short-term and Return Migration and Family Structure

Various types of migration will impact the families of women and men migrants in different ways. A limited amount of information suggests the differential effects of seasonal, short-term and return migration on the families of migrants. Due to the limited nature of these writings, however, there is great need for further empirical emphasis on this subject.

Seasonal and short-term migration. With the seasonal migration of men, either for agriculture or other types of work, women are often left behind for major portions of the year. This is the case in some parts of the Middle East, and in Turkey where men often leave their villages after the harvest season to work temporarily in the construction or in other sectors (Kudat, 1978b).

In different parts of the Third World, both men and women engage in short-term migration. In Africa, one pattern is for women to migrate

on a short-term basis for trading purposes, while another pattern is for men to migrate alone during some days of the week, spending the weekend at home engaged in agricultural activities.

The increased mobility and economic autonomy of short-term women migrants on the coast of Guinea and in the interior of West Africa caused "drastic changes in the husband-wife relationship." (LeVine, 1966). Among the Nupe in the 1930s, childless women were traditionally responsible for trade. As the importance and volume of trade increased, so did the income of women. As families became supported mainly by women's income, men greatly resented their loss of supremacy (Nadel, 1952). Similarly, in Nigeria, when cassava was introduced as a crop, women assumed its production and were allowed to keep the income generated from it. Through this and further trading, women advanced rapidly in economic terms and began going to towns on long trading trips. Among the Yoruba (Nigeria), migration for trading was traditionally an institutionalized aspect of society. With economic development, this role of women was simply accentuated. As a result, not only did the divorce rate increase, but men felt emasculated by female independence and became resentful (Ottenberg, 1959).

West African women have been involved in short-term migration, both as laborers and commercial traders. The labor migrants were often wives who originally came to the cities as dependents of their husbands. Upon arrival in the cities, however, they began to look for jobs in order to

earn some income. Women migrating as commercial traders is part of an older and equally significant process, involving traders and craftsmen. In the different trading groups, however, there is considerable variation in the relative size of the male and female population. Women outnumber men among the Yoruba, for example, while Hausa men outnumber women three to one (Sudarkasa, 1977). Many of the women involved in both internal and international migration are involved in trade.

Return migration. Return migration is particularly common for women when their families break down: they become divorced, or have problems readjusting to continuing traditional social pressures. On the whole, however, the available evidence suggest that women are returnees to a lesser extent than men (Cornelius, 1976; Castro et al, 1978; Kudat et al, 1976).

The migrants who return home are often prompted to re-enter the migrant streams as they find that the unemployment conditions which originally stimulated their emigration remain, and as they encounter difficulty obtaining jobs in the formal market.

Women are less often return migrants for primarily the same reasons which push them out of their communities in the first place--economic and social pressures within the community. Another reason is that women more often migrate accompanied by their families and generally do not return unless the family returns. There is much less

chance for the whole family to return, not only because of the employment of more than one family member in the city, but also because of the stronger push factors originally involved with their migration.

The only type of migration producing large numbers of returned women migrants is international migration where both women and men are forced to leave the "host" country after a limited stay.

A study of Turkish women who were return migrants (from Europe) shows a great difference in the world view of women migrant laborers as compared to migrant wives (Kudat, 1973; Kudat, 1975a, 1975b; Kudat and Gurel, 1978). The working women were mostly unemployed upon return, but had a positive attitude towards work. They wanted to continue working if satisfactory employment were available. However, having translated German Marks into Turkish Liras they considered most job opportunities inadequate and preferred work in formal, large scale organizations or industries rather than more personal employee-employer relationships. Moreover, these women felt pressures from relatives and friends who considered their desire to work an indication of a failure during employment abroad, resulting in a lack of savings and the need to work. The political outlook of women abroad differed significantly between those who were employed and those who were dependent. As opposed to the former, the latter group had a conservative perspective and were generally uninterested in politics. Return to the village of origin was rare, and confined to those cases either where a woman all along was

dependent on her husband or where her stay abroad was short and resulted in insufficient savings. Women who migrated before their husbands, but who upon emigration were unable to arrange for the arrival of their families, often felt isolated and ill adjusted. They also made earlier returns to their homes.

The differential effects of various types of migrations, even within a given cultural setting,has yet to be investigated. The findings of such investigations should shed critical light on family stability, the development of female headed households,and the household income and poverty, and should receive priority as topics for research.

VIII. IMPLICATIONS FOR POLICY

This section is the result of a Policy Roundtable discussion on Migration and Women, convened on June 20, 1979, to help bridge the traditional separation between research and policy. Expert practitioners and researchers from various development institutions reviewed some of the main findings of the study and underlined topics of direct relevance to policy. Annex A lists the participants attending this Roundtable. The main issues of discussion are reported below. We are grateful to the participants for their contributions, at the same time that we alone assume reponsibility for any errors of omission or misinterpretation.

One of the first issues raised during the Roundtable discussions was that policies for low-income women in urban areas should not be different for migrant and non-migrant women. This viewpoint raises more generic issues implicit in this study which have critical policy implications such as:

In the formulation of effective development policies, should women migrants be singled out as a distinct category of potentially active and productive beings whose development contributions should be maximized?

In the formulation of internal and international migration policies, should the characteristics, behavior and motivations of the woman migrant be considered as an independent factor in the migration equation? Can this lead to policies which are explicitly sensitive to women's responses, as distinct to those of men?

With respect to the first point, our findings clearly show that migrant women are structurally more disadvantaged in levels of education,

employment, and income than urban women. Their survival in the city is marginal while their potential as active and productive beings is easily dismissed; women migrants at best are perceived as a welfare problem.

Under current conditions, the presence of migrant women in cities accounts in large part for the extreme marginality of the female work force and for the conditions of female poverty in the urban context. The implications of policies which are responsive to the conditions of women migrants, therefore, are that they might alleviate many of the burdens of urban poverty. This is true of policies which deliberately redirect the location of employment/income generation activities away from the highly urbanized centers, thus stabilizing the "would-be" rural women migrant population. It is generally true of policies which provide for the expansion of training and employment opportunities for recent migrants within large cities, and which would serve to facilitate migrant women's assimilation into the productive sectors of the urban economy.

Countries which are noted for the "export" of labor might give special consideration to maximizing the productive capacities and development contributions of international women migrants upon their return. This can be done by absorbing the skilled returnees into the rank and file of "responsible" blue-collar and technical personnel and/or the formulation of policies which provide incentives for women returnees to import modern technology, set up their own business and generate additional employment for other women.

The second generic issue earlier identified is of particular relevance to Third World countries which, in varying degrees, seek to regulate internal and international migration streams. This report has established that there are considerable differences between male and female migrants. Do these differences in characteristics and behavior suggest the need for, or the advantage of, formulating separate migratory policies for the sexes? Or, conversely does a government's ability to shape the volume and direction of migration depend upon the sex selectivity factor among the migrant population?

One example of the differences between women and men migrants is that women are found to migrate shorter distances than men; the choice of their destination is not determined by specific employment offers; rather, they seem to be attracted to large city areas because of educational and health services (though, more often than not, they do not have access to such services upon arrival), and because they perceive in the city a variety of possible income earning opportunities. Such findings in and by themselves suggest that incentives directed at encouraging, discouraging, or re-channelling migration streams may have to be planned differently for women than for men. Women's involvement in migration--particularly that which is independent of marriage or family moves--can be seen as either an obstacle or a vantage point--depending on where the government seeks to direct a migratory stream.

Acknowledging the fact that women migrate for economic reasons, a word of caution was raised at the Policy Roundtable about the next step.

Specifically, it was stressed that generalizations should be avoided and that the economic behavior of women migrants should be analyzed in relation to specific macro-economic conditions--i.e., the structure of urban labor markets, the patterns of urban income distribution and, more broadly, the relative level of economic development in the receiving areas. The underlying assumption is that particular macro-economic conditions help shape the economic behavior of women migrants and contribute to sex differences in the economic condition of migrants.

Recent findings reviewed in this study indicate particular linkages between macro-economic variables and migrant women's economic behavior (e.g., the Brazilian data shows the prevalence of women when compared to men migrants in areas characterized by high levels of urbanization but low levels of industrialization). The evidence also suggests a relationship between the economic structure of receiving urban areas and the socioeconomic level of women migrants (e.g., data for Chile locates low-income women migrants in large metropolitan areas and educated women migrants in smaller size cities with more specialized labor market demands). It seems clear that the effectiveness of policy will be directly related to the level of <u>disaggregation</u> in the analysis of the economic structure and conditions in the areas of destination, and will also depend on how specifically it addresses the needs of a particular population (or target group). A recommendation made in the Roundtable discussion was the critical need to <u>differentiate among the population of migrant women</u> in

order to more efficiently address women's needs. In particular, the need to disaggregate data to identify specific characteristics of women migrants was emphasized. In so doing, a conceptual linkage between elements often ignored in the development literature is achieved. By positing a direct relationship between the economic characteristics of women migrants and macro-economic conditions in areas of destination, a framework is provided for undertaking a more complete analysis of the urban economy and one which includes consideration of women's participation. Within this framework, it becomes possible to identify specific economic policies which serve the needs of migrant women.

The analysis of female migratory streams in relation to the characteristics of the economic structure of the destination area should be combined with analysis at the individual level, i.e., demographic variables, such as age and marital status. There is some evidence to suggest that age, reflecting different life cycle stages, may have a greater effect in specifying the economic conditions among women migrants than other regionally specific or development related variables. On the one hand, evidence from some African and most Latin American countries indicates the preponderance of women migrants in specific occupational categories in the service sector (despite different conditions and levels of economic development). On the other hand, a consistent demographic trend across regions shows greater female than male outmigration from rural areas in the very young and the very old age groups, and related evidence from studies on urban women (both migrant and non-migrant) among the poor shows that age is a significant factor determining women's market and household roles.

The demographic trends indicate a need for policies that respond specifically to these two groups of women. For example, policies for adolescent women might focus on:

- programs to encourage young women to remain in school;
- remedial education for female dropouts:
- non-formal and vocational training to develop skills required in the formal sector or to enable better income earning opportunities in the informal sector;
- training for employment in non-traditional occupations and employment in sectors where a sexual division of labor has not yet been institutionalized;
- education in health and family planning;

Policies for older women might emphasize:

- expansion of opportunities in both the formal and informal sector;
- short-term training to develop skills required for employment in the formal sector;
- provision of training and credit for small-scale trade and commercial retail activities;
- employment located in/or near the home;
- health care which is locationally and financially accessible;
- leadership training programs which maximize the important role older women play in informal social networks. For example, older women could be trained in managerial skills and provided opportunities for responsible positions in cooperatives.

Another issue brought up during the discussion concerned women's motivations for migration into urban areas. The emphasis in the study on women's economic versus social motivations was questioned. Women's desire or expectation for upward mobility in the urban areas was singled out as an important element for consideration. Up to recently the literature has sex-stereotyped motivational variables: women are seen to migrate for social reasons, men for economic ones. Additionally, cultural factors have been over-emphasized in explaining women's "development" related behavior when compared with men's. Such imbalances in the development literature are misleading. Policies should allow for consideration of social and cultural factors which motivate the migration behavior of both women and men. Additionally, both men and women migrants should be considered in the design of policies to improve the economic environment.

Policies developed for women migrants should be focused not only on the causes (motivations) of migration, but also on the consequences of women's moves. Studies indicate that women migrate to large urban areas, at least in part, because of the services offered; however, they also show that women are least likely to benefit from these services. The expectations of women migrants might be very different from the reality not only in terms of amenities offered by the city but also in terms of the employment opportunities.

The consequences of migration should also be viewed in terms of women's status over time. Roundtable participants questioned the long-term

condition of young women migrants who are entering the modern sector in large numbers through work in large-scale export-oriented industries. Their supposed "upward" economic and social mobility through entry into the modern economy seems to be very short-lived since contracts are generally limited to periods of three to seven years. For instance, a recent longitudinal study of migrants to Lima, Peru, mentioned during the discussion reveals upward economic mobility for men migrants while women migrants remain in intermittent, low-status, low-paid jobs. Indeed, one of the most striking sex differences among migrants appears to be the upward mobility of the man in the area of destination, both in economic and social terms, as contrasted with the stagnating or even declining situation of the woman migrant over time. If the research currently in process substantiates this hypothesis, policies must be directed to remedy this imbalance and to improve the long-term situation of women migrants. Countries experiencing a predominantly female movement into the urban areas may have to address specific policy issues related to the impact of such migration on the urban labor market; and assess more clearly the needs for housing and other government services which are created by the rural exodus.

An issue frequently raised during the Roundtable discussion was the need for more reliable information on women migrants. The definitional issue of who is considered a migrant in the macro-statistical data needs clarification and systematization for the purposes of comparability. This assumes special importance when assessing the short- and long-term effects of migration on women.

Other areas in need of research which were mentioned include:

1. women's incomes in receiving versus areas of origin;

2. impact of migration on women's fertility behavior;

3. patterns of assimilation and the role of informal associations in integrating migrant women into the receiving area.

An additional issue of importance concerns the impact of male outmigration on the women left behind. The scanty literature available is definite on several points. In areas characterized by heavy rates of male outmigration labor productivity has fallen, production levels have been reduced and the total amount of land cultivated is on the decline. In some cases, productivity falls below the level of basic subsistence. Serious declines in the use of agricultural technology are noted, primarily because women have never been trained to utilize modern farming techniques. In those areas where women are the primary agricultural producers, this neglect may impede rural development which depends on the use of technology and/or on agricultural diversification. Systematic research in this area is imperative, but it should be carried out in a manner that will establish linkages between the effects of male outmigration upon the rural economy and the changing economic/productive role of rural women in relation to rural productivity. It is only when such linkages are systematically established that effective policies can be developed that address women's objective "condition", at the same time aiming to maximize the development contributions they can offer.

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